

THE PRINCESS OF WALES
SARASVATI BHAVANA STUDIES
(Reprint Series No. 2)

THE HISTORY AND BIBLIOGRAPHY
OF
NYĀYA-VAIŚEŚIKA LITERATURE

By
GOPINATH KAVIRAJ



EDITED BY
GAURINATH SASTRI
Vice-Chancellor
Sampurnanand Sanskrit University

VARANASI
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PREFACE

We are privileged to present before the academic world the reprint of the twelve volumes of the famous "The Princess of Wales Sarasvati Bhavana Studies" published between the year 1922 and 1954 under the authority of the Government of the United Provinces with Dr Gaṅgānātha Jhā as its first editor. We are thankful to the University Grants Commission for releasing adequate funds for the publication.

The present editor takes upon himself the responsibility of reprinting the volumes according to a principle convenient and commendable to readers by putting together in one separate book the several articles from the pen of a single writer published serially in successive volumes on one subject. To mention, Mm. Gaṅgānātha Jhā's 'Studies in Hindu Law' and Mm. Gopīnātha Kavirāja's 'The History and Bibliography of Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika Literature', which appear in Vols. I-IV and VI and Vols. III-V and VII respectively are printed in two separate books. The foot-notes in the original volumes are collected here at the end, the text mentioning their numbers serially. And, indices which will enable scholars to consult those portions of the text where they occur has been inserted.

Mm. Gopīnātha Kavirāja's articles on "The History and Bibliography of Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika Literature" which are contained in the original volume of the series from

the third to the fifth and the seventh, form the text of the present book which contains the following sections :

Prefatory Note

The Mediaeval Period

The Modern Period

A. The School of Mithilā

B. The School of Bengal

C. The Deccani School

Notes

Index

In the Prefatory Note to his articles which have been published here the revered savant was pleased to mention : "The Ancient Section of the work needs a separate and special treatment; it has been, therefore, omitted from these pages and will appear in a forthcoming issue of the 'Studies'." But, it is unfortunate that his ambition did not materialise. Whatever it may be, the series of articles contained in this book will be a source of inspiration to all those scholars who are interested in the study of the rich Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika literature of Indian Philosophy.

In the prime of his career Kaviraj ji came to be associated with the prestigious Sarasvati Bhavana Library and he utilized to the maximum the advantages that could be derived from that association. Born with a rare intellect and a singular devotion to the cause of learning, he has given to the academic world his mature thinking and judgment in the controversial fields of study in this abstruse branch of philosophy. We are confident that the publication of this work will be appreciated by scholars all over the academic world.

[c]

As one of his most humble students I feel very happy to be once again associated with this University to have this work printed in a book-form. In this difficult work I must appreciate the invaluable service rendered by our Librarian, Shri Lakshmi Narayan Tiwari, in seeing the book through the press and preparing the indices. Services of my Personal Assistant, Shri Saligram Yadav, in this regard are thankfully acknowledged.

Gaurinath Sastri

3rd September, 1982.

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THE HISTORY AND BIBLIOGRAPHY OF NYĀYA-VAIŚEŚIKA LITERATURE

PREFATORY NOTE

The history of Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika Philosophy remains still to be written, and the time does not seem to be yet ripe for undertaking at present a work of this kind in as thorough a manner as might be desired. In the meantime a good deal of spade work will have to be done; thus, it will be necessary to survey the whole field carefully and have an accurate and up-to-date knowledge of the resources available for this purpose.

Suali, Faddegon, Keith—to name some among many—have rendered brilliant services to the cause of Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika Philosophy by their invaluable works. But, as they had necessarily to rest on insufficient data none of these works can properly claim to be a history of philosophy, presenting a consistent and exhaustive account of the development of thought in all its shades.

As regards bibliography Mr. Chakravarti's paper on 'Navya Nyāya in Bengal' (in the J. A. S. B.) is excellent; but, its scope is narrow and it is a bit too scrappy. Dr. Vidyābhūṣaṇa's posthumous 'History of Indian Logic' is interesting; but, though apparently exhaustive, it suffers from the same limitations and I believe to a much greater extent; and, it seems that the book needs a careful revision, especially, where it treats of the bibliography of the mediaeval and modern schools.

The following pages represent an humble, but further contribution in the field, made on the basis of the available data, in the hope of helping to prepare the ground for a systematic History of Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika Philosophy. These data consist among others in the study of (a) about 1500 Manuscripts in original on the subject belonging to the Library of the Government Sanskrit College, Benares and to certain local private Collections, and of (b) others as reported in the various Catalogues and Notices of Mss.

The History of Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika Philosophy is expected to follow soon. But, its accomplishment and publication will naturally depend upon those of the bibliography herewith presented.

The Ancient Section of the work needs a separate and special treatment; it has been, therefore, omitted from these pages and will appear in a forthcoming issue of the "Studies".

GOPINATH KAVIRAJ

1. THE MEDIAEVAL PERIOD

In the following pages we shall start at once with the mediaeval period and proceed slowly with the course of time, reserving for a separate study the early history of the Literature of the systems and its bibliography.

It is assumed that the mediaeval age of the Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika schools of thought opened with the eighth century, when the writings of Uddyotakara and Praśastapāda had already become things of the past. There is no doubt that the Hindu Nyāya Śāstra suffered a temporary eclipse in these times under the overshadowing influence of Buddhist (and Jain) Sciences of Reasoning. It is probable that the Buddhist monasteries of Nālandā, Vikramaśilā, &c., had some share in bringing about this end. That individual scholars of extraordinary powers rose in defence of Buddhist Philosophy and set themselves to the task of demolishing whatever they found inconsistent with the accepted notions of their schools is beyond a shadow of doubt. And, this they did more from a vindictive zeal than from any righteous or sensible motive. The name of Dharmakīrti as one among many such polemic authors may be cited in this connection.

The curtain rises with the appearance on the scene of Bhāsarvajña, the author of Nyāyasāra in Kashmir and of Trilocana, the tutor of the great Vācaspati Miśra, on the plains.

I. BHĀSARVAJŪNA

As far as our present knowledge extends it may be said with justice that Bhāsarvajña's Nyāyasāra stands unique in the history of the Mediaeval School of Nyāya Philosophy in India. But, the work has not been thoroughly examined as yet, and I believe that a careful analysis of its contents will yield results of great historical interest. It would be foreign to the purpose of these pages to enter into an examination of this kind, but some points may be noted in passing.

A. (a) In the first place, I take up the question of the number of *pramāṇas*. Here Bhāsarvajña is very emphatic in his assertion that (1) *Pratyakṣa*, (2) *Anumāna* and (3) *Āgama* are the only *pramāṇas* to be recognized,¹ the other alleged *pramāṇas* including *Upamāna*, already coming under the above. The rejection of *Upamāna*,² to which the old School held fast with such tenacity, is certainly characteristic, and is probably to be accounted for as the effect of the influence of Yoga Philosophy,³ which might have acted upon it directly or through the Pratyabhijñā Philosophy.

(b) While setting forth the means to be adopted for realising *Mokṣa*, Bhāsarvajña prescribes *Kriyā-yoga* consisting of *Tapah*, *Svādhyāya* and *Īśvara-praṇidhāna*. This, he holds, is to serve as a helping practice for the sterilisation of *kleśas*, and, through graduated course of what are technically called *Sādhana*s, viz., *yama*, *niyama* and the other *yogāṅgas*, for the attainment of *Samādhi*. This is exactly the view expressed in Yoga Sūtra II. 1.

(c) It also appears that the classification of *prameya*⁴ in Nyāyasāra⁵, viz., into *heya*, *tannivarttaka*, *ātyantika-hūna* and *hūnopāya* follows on the lines of the Yoga Sūtras II. 16-17, 25-26.⁶ That Bhāsarvajña had exactly these Sūtras in his mind would follow as a plain corollary from a comparative study of Nyāyasāra p. 34¹⁸ (हेयं दुःखमनागतम्) and Yoga Śūtra II. 16.

(d) Bhāsarvajña's definition of *Pratyakṣa* may be cited as a further example of how Yoga deeply influenced his whole mental outlook. Perceiving that Gautama's *Pratyakṣalakṣaṇa*⁷ does not apply to the transcendental visions of the Yogins⁸ for which the contact of an object with the sense organs is not a necessary precondition and which with him had a profound reality, he was constrained to alter the *Pratyakṣalakṣaṇa* accordingly, thus : 'योगिप्रत्यक्षं देशकालस्वभावविप्रकृष्टार्थग्राहकम्'.

B. It may seem, however, that the introduction into a Nyāya work ideas and practices which we have been accustomed to associate with Yoga, is of the nature of an accident. But, as a matter of fact, it has a historical significance which grows deeper in interest the more our acquaintance is widened with the course of ancient and mediaeval philosophy. For, though Yoga in its wider form has been practically accepted by every system of Indian philosophy, its relation with Nyāya is in some manner more special, and perhaps fundamental. Here are, for example, some instances recorded in literature where the expression *Yauga* is employed invariably to indicate "a professor of or pertaining to Nyāya" :

(i) 'वैशेषिकनैयायिकयोः प्रायः समानतन्त्रत्वादौलूक्यमते क्षिप्ते यौगमतमपि क्षिप्तमेवावसेयम्'.⁹

(ii) 'नैयायिकानां यौगपराभिधानानां'¹⁰.

(iii) 'ज्ञानान्तरप्रत्यक्षज्ञानवादिनां यौगानां च मतमपाकर्तुम्'.

[That this is the view of the Naiyāyikas is well-known (cf., their theory of *anuvyavasāya*). It is ascribed to them in the most unequivocal terms by Ananta Vīrya himself, at p. 49 of the above gloss ; thus : 'ज्ञानान्तरप्रत्यक्षत्वादिति नैयायिकाः'.]

(iv) 'प्रतिज्ञाहेतूदाहरणोपनयनिगमनभेदात् पञ्चावयवमिति यौगाः'.¹¹

(v) 'नापि सामान्यविशेषौ परस्परानपेक्षौ इति यौगमतमपि etc.'¹²

(vi) Cf. Rājaśekhara's *Ṣaḍdarśana-samuccaya*, verse 23.¹³

These evidences, though coming from sources not recognised as orthodox, need not be summarily dismissed as calling for no attention. [But, cf., *Nyāya-vārttika*, Ben. Ed., p. 105, under Sūtra 1.1.29 where the word "*Yauga*" is employed in the sense of "*Naiyāyika*"]. Their cumulative weight is considerable. Besides, the *Sarvasiddhānta-saṅgraha* of Śāṅkara¹⁴ affords distinct proof in support of a relation existing between Nyāya and Yoga, for it is maintained there that according to Nyāya *Mokṣa* follows directly from Yoga, a doctrine which it shares in common with the Pātañjala system (as distinguished from the Sāṅkhya where *jñāna* is held to be the immediate cause of *Mukti*¹⁵). The Nyāya Darśana, in its present form, contains some Sūtras (4-2.38-49) where the practices of Yoga are strongly recommended.

C. From the above it seems to be pretty clearly made out that the relation between Nyāya and Yoga was

an intimate one, and Bhāsarvajña in laying stress upon certain Yoga practices in his treatise on Nyāya was not guilty of irrelevancy. His exposition was only a reflection—dim but faithful—of the then existing medleian condition of this philosophy. But, how, under what ascertainable influences, this fusion came about is a question to which no thoroughly convincing answer can be returned at present. Probably the right explanation will be found, *inter alia*, in the discovery of a bond of historical unity between these schools, and in my opinion this is supplied by the original Śivāgama or its philosophical counterpart, the so called *Īśvaravāda*, out of which not only the present form of Yoga and Nyāya, but, the later Śaiva philosophies also may have well arisen and gradually crystallised themselves into independent systems.

At any rate in Nyāyasāra Śaiva influences are clearly discernible in many places. On p. 39 Bhāsarvajña observes that two things are requisites as immediate antecedents of a direct vision of the Supreme Self (called here Śiva) and Final Release (निरतिशयं श्रेयः) to follow, viz., परवैराग्य (known as अनभिरति) and परा भक्ति towards Maheśvara. This śloka is quoted :

“यदा चर्मवदाकाशं वेष्टयिष्यन्ति मानवाः ।
तदा शिवमविज्ञाय दुःखस्यान्तो भविष्यति” ॥¹⁶

It is, as we know, a stock verse among the Śaivas.¹⁷ The inculcation may be due in both cases to Śaiva influence. And similarly when we find in Nyāyasāra,¹⁸ the concept of *Īśvara* expressed in language like ‘ऐश्वर्यादिविशिष्टः संसारधर्मैरीषद्वयसंसृष्टः परो भगवान् महेश्वरः सर्वज्ञः सकलजगद्विधाता’, it is hard to

decide between Yoga and Śaivism as its probable source. The definition here given is taken almost *verbatim* from Yoga Sūtras 1.24-54, but, then it is likely that these Sūtras themselves were originally of Śaiva formulation. It may be remembered that the word *Īśvara* or *Maheśvara* (as found in Nyāya & Yoga) was originally a name of Śiva, as the corresponding word *Puruṣa* (of Sāṅkhya), or rather its derivative *Puruṣottama*, came to mean *Nārāyaṇa*.¹⁹ [We are not concerned here with the metaphysical contents of the terms *Īśvara* and *Puruṣa* or *Puruṣottama* but, only with their sectarian meanings]. In this way then the philosophy of *Īśvaravāda* is brought into close contiguity with the Śaiva theology, and we can understand why Śaṅkara²⁰ should have arrayed in a line (under *Īśvaravādins*)²¹ such opponents as the advocates of Yoga, Nyāya, Vaiśeṣika and other Śaiva doctrines. [It is to be remembered that the *Adhikaraṇa* of *Īśvaravāda* is explained in Ratnaprabhā, Bhāmatī and Ānandagiri as bearing on *Māheśvaramata*].²²

It is historically interesting to note how the element of *Bhakti* has come to find a place in Bhāsarvajña's work. The notion that *Bhakti* is the invariable antecedent of *Jñāna* is admittedly very old in India. Certainly the conception was familiar as an integral part of the theology of Nyāya (Vaiśeṣika) when the Sarvasiddhānta-saṅgraha was written, for its importance is recognised there: the doctrine of *Bhakti* (=Faith?; perhaps the word is here an equivalent of *Śraddhā* and has not yet assumed the highly emotional colouring of the later age) and the parallel doctrine of Grace (*Prasāda*) are accepted as essential in this twin system, so that *Mokṣa* or Realisation of the Self's Identity is held in both the Schools to ensue

through Faith (*Bhakti*) and Divine Grace (*Prasāda*), the mutual difference of the Schools being that while Nyāya adhered to Yoga as the direct antecedent of *Mokṣa*, Vaiśeṣika kept away from it. The beginnings of this doctrine may be traced back to a remote past (perhaps even to the pre-upaniṣadic period), but its connection with Nyāya remains for investigation. I suppose that here, too, as elsewhere, the influence of Śaivism is palpable. [Bhāsarvajña notes the *Bhakti* element alone, but we may be sure that he had nothing to say against the corresponding element of Grace too, which occurs in the Śvetāśvatara Upaniṣad, a high authority with Bhāsarvajña, as with all Śaiva philosophers.]

D. Another point to which attention may be briefly drawn in a study of Nyāyasāra is the recognition of a distinction between Nyāya and Vaiśeṣika in their earlier (but post-Vātsyāyāniya) forms in the conception of *Mokṣa*. The former held that *Mokṣa* consists in the attainment of the essentially blissful character of the Self, involving, of course, cessation of all Pain (which embraces, among other things, the sensible pleasure too), but, the latter, unable to conceive of any higher pleasure than what passes for it in the world, were reluctant to admit that in *Mokṣa* happiness persists. Their view of *Mokṣa* was thus negative, as consisting in the absence of all the *viśeṣa-guṇas* of the Self, including with other qualities *Duḥkha* as well as *Sukha* and *Jñāna*. Bhāsarvajña notes this distinction²³ and taking side with the Naiyāyika,²⁴ thus concludes : 'अनेन (i. e., नित्येन) सुखेन विशिष्टा आत्यन्तिकी दुःखनिवृत्तिः पुरुषस्य मोक्षः'.²⁵ That such a distinction did really exist between the two systems during a certain period would be

evidenced by the two definitions of *Mukti* in *Sarva-siddhānta-saṅgraha* :

(i) Under '*Vaiśeṣika-pakṣa*' we have²⁶ :

“तत् (परमेश्वर)-प्रसादेन मोक्षः स्यात् करणोपरमात्मकः ।
करणोपरमे त्वात्मा पाषाणवदवस्थितः ।
दुःखसाध्यमुखोच्छेदो दुःखोच्छेदवदेव नः ।”

(ii) Under '*Naiyāyika-pakṣa*'²⁷ :

“नित्यानन्दानुभूतिः स्यान्मोक्षे तु विषयादृते ।
वरं वृन्दावने रम्ये शृगालत्वं वृणोम्यहम् ।
वैशेषिकोक्तमोक्षात्तु सुखलेशविर्जितात् ॥”²⁸

Whether this *Ānanda* element found admission into Nyāya directly through Vedānta or through its Kashmirian representative—the Pratyabhijñā School of thought—cannot be ascertained. But, the authorities quoted²⁹ by Bhāsarvajña are worthy of note.

I think the above will suffice to bring out the historical importance of this neglected treatise and serve as a plea for its wider appreciation.

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It was not known whether Bhāsarvajña had written any other work, besides the one under notice. Neither Vidyābhūṣaṇa nor Sualī seems to have anything to say in this regard. But, Bhaṭṭa Rāghava, whose *tīkā* on Nyāyasāra may be pronounced to be the oldest extant Commentary on the book supplies positive proof to show that Bhāsarvajña had written a gloss called Bhūṣaṇa on his own work. I do not entertain any doubt as to the identity of this Bhūṣaṇa with the Nyāyabhūṣaṇa mentioned by Guṇaratna³⁰ and Rājaśekhara³¹ as the oldest of the 18 commentaries on Nyāyasāra. And, it is this to which

Jayasinha Sūri in his Commentary on Nyāyasāra so often refers.³² Here is what Bhaṭṭa Rāghava says (I quote from Ms. 162 of the Government Sanskrit Library, Benares): “यत्तु स्मरणज्ञानेति पाठान्तरं”³³ तिष्ठति तत् पण्डित-
म्मन्यपाठकदोषादित्युपेक्ष्यम् । भूषणे च भासर्वज्ञज्ञानस्य यागादेरिति
व्याकुर्वद्भिरिदृश एव पाठः कण्ठतोऽपि प्रतिष्ठितः”³⁴

In Nyāyasāra the reading generally met with is this : ‘स्मरणज्ञानव्यवच्छेदार्थमनुभवग्रहणम्’, i. e., the word *anubhava* in the definition of *pramāṇa* (viz., ‘सम्यगनुभवसाधनं प्रमाणम्’) is employed to guard against the possible inclusion of *smaraṇa* and *jñāna*. Bhaṭṭa Rāghava criticises the above as pedantic and for his own part approves the reading *smaraṇa* and *ajñāna*. The ground of his preference, he adds, is that Bhāsarvajña himself has established that reading (*ajñāna*) with the stamp of his sanction in commenting on the word in Bhūṣaṇa.

In continuation of the evidence of Bhaṭṭa Rāghava we may point out that in Nyāya-līlāvati Vallabhācārya also refers to Bhāsarvajña as the author of Bhūṣaṇa. Thus—

“तदिदं चिरन्तनवैशेषिकमतदूषणं भूषणकारस्यातित्रपाकरम् ।
तदियमनाम्नातता भासर्वज्ञस्य यदयमाचार्यमप्यवमन्यते”³⁵

The question here relates itself to the existence of *samkhyā* as an independent *guṇa*. The author of Bhūṣaṇa denies it as unnecessary and thus breaks loose from the traditional ideas of the School.³⁶ Hence, the above remark.³⁷

Again, Ītsukha quotes in his Tattvapradīpikā³⁸ under the name of Bhūṣaṇakāra (भूषणकारभाषितं) the definition of *Viparyaya* as “निश्चयाध्यवसायो विपर्ययः”.

A glance at Nyāyasāra³⁹ would show that this is Bhāsarvajña’s own definition. [Observe that here also Bhāsarvajña leans towards Yoga.⁴⁰]

Pratyakṣavarūpa, in his commentary on Citsukha's *Tattvaprādīpikā*, quotes the definitions of *Samśaya* and *Pratyakṣa* as given by the author of *Nyāyabhūṣaṇa* in these terms :

(1) "तथा च 'अनवधारणज्ञानं संशयः' इति वदतो न्यायभूषण-
कारस्य वदनसरोरुहं व्याहृतिहिमाहतम्"⁴¹ and (2) 'सम्यगपरोक्षा-
नुभवसाधनं प्रत्यक्षम्'.⁴²

These definitions occur in the *Nyāyasāra*. In the same manner Malliṣeṇa also quotes in the *Syādvādamā-
ñjarī*⁴³ Bhāsarvajña's definition of *pramāṇa* as that of the
author of *Nyāyabhūṣaṇa-sūtra*. These are further argu-
ments in favour of the proposed identity of the authors of
Nyāyasāra and *Bhūṣaṇa*.

The full title of Bhāsarvajña's Commentary was as
already stated *Nyāyabhūṣaṇa*, which for convenience of
reference came to be shortened into mere *Bhūṣaṇa*. While
expatiating on the famous passage in *Kiraṇāvalī*—'तस्माद्
वरं भूषणः कर्मापि गुणस्तल्लक्षणयोगात्'⁴⁴—Vāḍindra mentions the
fuller name of the book. Thus, in his *Rasasāra* we read :

"कर्म गुणः सामान्यवत्त्वे स्पर्शानाधारत्वे च सति द्रव्याश्रितत्वात् ।
सामान्यवत्त्वे सति कार्यानाधारत्वादित्यनुमानाच्च कर्म गुण इति न्याय-
भूषणकारः"⁴⁵

Mm. Haraprasāda Śāstrī, in his Preface to 'Six
Buddhist Nyāya Tracts,'⁴⁶ distinguishes the *Nyāya-
bhūṣaṇa* known as the Commentary on *Nyāyasāra* from
the *Bhūṣaṇa* referred to in the pages of the *Tārkika-
rakṣā*.⁴⁷ The latter, he observes, is "a Vṛtti on the
Nyāya Sūtras."⁴⁸ Sualī, in a note at p. 59 of his work,
seems also inclined to accept this view. But, nowhere are
the grounds clearly stated. Possibly it is supposed that
as all the three references to *Bhūṣaṇakāra* in the *Tārkika-*

rakṣā, bear on *Nigrahasthāna*—a subject to which the Nyāya Sūtras have devoted a lengthy discussion—the Bhūṣaṇa must be a gloss on these Sūtras. But, I fear this supposition is vitiated by what I might call the fault of ‘undue extension’ (*Gaurava*). It is more likely that passages quoted in Tārkikarakṣā have been taken from the section dealing with the varieites of *Nigrahasthāna* in Bhāsarvajña’s Commentary on Nyāyasāra.⁴⁰ As to whether the statements attributed to Nyāyabhūṣaṇa by Ratnakīrti⁵⁰ are really those of Bhāsarvajña himself in Bhūṣaṇa or of a distinct author of that name, I cannot presume to judge.

II. TĀTPARYĀCĀRYA

The name of this author seems to have well nigh disappeared from the subsequent history of the literature. But, it would appear from references by earlier writers that he had been a man of considerable influence. Udayana quotes his view on *Prāmāṇyavāda* in his *Ātmataṭṭva-viveka*,⁵¹ and, though it is set aside there as being irreconcilable with the system of traditional Nyāya (*Nyāya-sampradāya*) to which he himself belonged, the mere fact of its being quoted by an eminent scholar like himself⁵² would constitute a claim for its propounder to a wider recognition.

Mm. Vindhyeśvarī Prasāda Dube⁵³ and the late Mm. Chandra Kānta Tarkālaṅkāra⁵⁴ identified this Tātparyācārya with Vācaspati Miśra, the author of *Tātparyatīkā*; but, this will have to be given up now in view of the decisive statement of Vallabhācārya in the *Nyāyalīlavatī* :

“तदियमनाम्नातता भासर्वज्ञस्य यदयमाचार्यमप्यवमन्यते । तथा च तदनुयायिनस्तात्पर्याचार्यस्य सिंहनादः ‘संविदेव हि भगवती’-
त्यादि” ।⁵⁵

From this passage it is evident that Tātparyācārya was a follower (possibly a direct successor or even Commentator) of Bhāsarvajña, and, that his attitude towards the orthodox School, like that of his own *Guru*, was often not quite a pliant one. The dictum ascribed to him in Nyāyalīlavatī is quoted in full by Śaṅkara Miśra in Upaskāra⁵⁶, by Jayarāma in Nyāya-siddhāntamālā⁵⁷ and by Vācaspati II in Khaṇḍanoddhāra,⁵⁸ where it stands thus :

“संविदेव हि भगवती वस्तूपगमे नः शरणम्” ।⁵⁹

It is an appeal to Intuition or Immediate Perception as against the formal testimony of Authority for the ascertainment of the real character of an object (*Vastūpagama*)⁶⁰. This would seem to correspond, in one of its aspects, to the *Pratibhā* of the Yoga System⁶¹ described as immediate and all embracing, as distinguished from *Anumāna* and *Āgama* which are remote.⁶² The epithet *Bhagavatī* as applied to *Samvit* is strangely reminiscent of Kashmir Śaivism or Pratyabhijñā Darśana, where the expression *Bhagavatī Samvit* or its equivalents are of frequent occurrence.⁶³ [Jayasinha Sūri speaks of *Pratyabhijñā* as *Bhagavatī* in his Commentary on Nyāyasāra.⁶⁴]

It is probable, therefore, that Tātparyācārya was a native of Kashmir.

III. TRILOCANA

Ratnakīrti (950 A.D. ?)⁶⁵ in his Apohasiddhi⁶⁶ and Kṣaṇabhaṅgasiddhi⁶⁷ quotes to refute the views of one Trilocana. No definite data are available to determine

the identity of this author, except what appears from a study of the meaning of the extracts given by Ratnakīrti, viz., that he had been an established Nyāya writer before the 10th century. Mm. H. P. Śāstrī⁷⁸ identifies him with the teacher (*Vidyā-guru*) of the great Vācaspati Miśra⁷⁹ and it is likely that he is right.

IV. VĀCASPATI MIŚRA

The greatest name in the history of Philosophy of this country is perhaps that of Trilocana's pupil Vācaspati Miśra. His wide and deep erudition in all the branches of Indian Thought earned for him the rare distinction of being called *Sarvatantrasvatantra* (Master of all Sciences)—a distinction seldom grudged by his successors. It is difficult to glean anything from his numerous works in which traces of his personal predilections in any direction might be detected. His all-round scholarship and sympathy with diverse ways of thinking makes such an attempt almost impossible.

While the Vedāntists claim him as their own, saying that he had been in his previous existence the great Vārttikakāra Sureśvara himself, one of the direct disciples of Śāṅkarācārya, Udayana pays homage to him rather as a great authority in Nyāya and comments on his work. So, with Mīmāṃsā, Sāṅkhya and Yoga—everywhere the stamp of his genius is unmistakeable.

Similarly it might appear that Vācaspati was a Śaiva in faith. His obeisance to *Bhava*⁷⁰, to Pināki⁷¹ and to Vṛṣaketu⁷², might be cited as an illustration of his belief. But, his devotion to Viṣṇu⁷³ and to Gaṇeśa is equally patent.⁷⁴

It appears from a reference to Udayanācārya's Tātparyapariśuddhi that Vācaspati's tutor was Trilocana⁷⁵. But, in the Introduction of Nyāyakaṇikā, verse 3, Vācaspati thus says :

“अज्ञानतिमिरशमनीं परदमनीं न्यायमञ्जरीं रुचिराम् ।
प्रसवित्रे प्रभवित्रे विद्यातरवे नमो गुरवे” ॥

Are we to understand this passage as containing an implied allusion to his Guru's work, Nyāya-mañjarī ?

Hall's remark⁷⁶ that Mārttaṇḍa-Tilaka-Svāmī was the name of Vācaspati's tutor was obviously due to a misinterpretation of the 4th verse of the Introduction of the Bhāmatī, viz. :

“मार्त्तण्डतिलकस्वामिमहागणपतीन् वयम् ।
विश्ववन्द्यान् नमस्यामः सर्वसिद्धिविधायिनः” ।

Here Mārttaṇḍa, Tilakasvāmī and Mahāgaṇapati are the names of three distinct gods. The belief that their worship ensures success is a very old one and is recorded in Smṛti literature.⁷⁷ Mārttaṇḍa is doubtless the Sun and Mahāgaṇapati the once-famous god of that name. [Ānandagiri in his Śaṅkaravijaya testifies to the existence in the days of Śaṅkarācārya of a sect of Gāṇapatyas worshipping Mahāgaṇapati as the Supreme Self].⁷⁸

From the two concluding verses (5-6) of the Bhāmatī⁷⁹ it would appear that Vācaspati undertook to compose this—his greatest work—during the reign, and, perhaps at the request of one Rājā Nṛga. And, it is just probable, considering the praises lavished upon this king, that he had been Vācaspati's own patron. But, who was he ? That he was not a mythical figure may be almost taken for granted.⁸⁰ According to Vācaspati he was a king of a generous nature, accomplished in the Śāstras

and highly famed for his wonderful deeds. And, it is further said that the deeds which he had performed with such remarkable ease (*Līlāmātravinirmīta*) were, not merely beyond the actual power of other kings who would seek to imitate him, but, even above their comprehension (*Manasū'pi duṣkarāṇi*). I have found a passage in the *Bhāmatī* which would seem to set in a clearer light the meaning of the above. The *kīrtis* already named are here specified as magnificent palaces and pleasure-gardens. It occurs under Ved. Sūt. 2.1.33 and may be quoted here in full :

“न चाद्यापि न दृश्यन्ते लीलामात्रविनिर्मितानि महाप्रासादप्रमद-
वनानि श्रीमन्गुणरेन्द्राणामन्येषां मनसापि दुष्कराणि नरेश्वराणाम्” ।⁸¹

There cannot be much uncertainty as to the age in which Vācaspati Miśra flourished. For in his *Nyāyasūcī-nibandha* he himself assigns 898 (*Vasvañkavasū*) as the date of its composition, and though the era to which the number refers is left unmentioned it is likely that we have to take it standing for Vikrama Samvat, and not for Śakābda. The year would then correspond to 841 A.D.⁸²

Regarding the native place of Vācaspati tradition and opinion of scholars are equally divided. From the evidence of a *śloka* found in the Introduction of *Nyāya-sūtroddhāra*⁸³, Mm. H. P. Śāstrī infers that he was an inhabitant of Mithilā. But, this can hardly be accepted as a correct view. The author of *Nyāya-sūtroddhāra* was Vācaspati II and was not identical with the author of *Bhāmatī* and other works.

Vācaspati was a voluminous writer, mostly of commentaries. In *Nyāya*⁸⁴ two works have come down to us, of which one is a mere booklet attempting to fix the number of Gotama's Sūtras and their readings. It is

known as Nyāya-sūcīnibandha. The other is a commentary on Uddyotakara's Nyāya-vārttika, known as Nyāya-vārttika-tātparya-ṭikā. He is said⁸⁵ to have also written a commentary on Nyāyaratna, apparently an older treatise which is now lost.⁸⁶

The Nyāyatattvāloka, noticed in the India Office Catalogue⁸⁷, was the work of the younger Vācaspati Miśra and not of the author of the Tātparya-ṭikā.

V. JAYANTA

The determination of the time of Jayanta, the author of Nyāyamañjarī does not seem to be beset with much difficulty.

Gaṅgeśa's reference to him as *Jarannaiyāyika* shows that in the latter's time he had been an established authority.

There does not seem to exist any positive evidence in confirmation of the alleged quotation by Jayanta from Vācaspati Miśra's works.

(a) Mr. Chakravarti's statement⁸⁸ that "Bhāmātī is quoted as an authority in Nyāyamañjarī" is apparently founded on the foot-note by Mm. Paṇḍita Gaṅgādhara Śāstrī,⁸⁹ where the *śloka*—

“यत्नेनानुमितोऽप्यर्थः कुशलैरनुमातृभिः ।

अभियुक्ततरैरन्यैरन्यथैवोपद्यते” ॥

is erroneously ascribed to Bhāmātī under Sūtra 2.1.11. The *śloka* as a matter of fact does not belong to Bhāmātī, where it is introduced as *taduktam*. It occurs originally in Bhartṛhari's Vākyapadiya I. 34.

(b) Gaṅgādhara says⁹⁰ that in the sentence ‘तदपि परिहृतमाचार्यैर्जातिञ्च सम्बद्धञ्च इत्येकः काल इति वदद्भिः’⁹¹ the word

Ācāryaiḥ is to be understood as a reference to Vācaspati Miśra whose *Tātparya-ṭīkā* on Sūtra 2.1.32 contains the following statement : 'अथासम्बद्धस्य विद्यमानत्वं तत् सत्यपि पृथग्गतिसत्त्वे नावयविनोऽस्ति जातः सम्बद्धश्चेत्येकः कालः'⁹². Now, though the dictum *jātaḥ* &c. found in *Nyāyamañjarī* does really occur in *Tātparya-ṭīkā*, it may not have been the original pronouncement of Vācaspati. For, in view of the practically insignificant interval between their periods of life⁹³, it is hard to believe that Jayanta should have spoken of Vācaspati in such term as *Ācāryāḥ* at all. It is more probable that the dictum had been even then, as later⁹⁴, a familiar one, and that the *Ācārya*, referred to by Jayanta, may have been an ancient authority.

As for the personal history of Jayanta nothing more is known than what his son Abhinanda has recorded in the Introduction of his *Kādambarī Kathā-sāra*. It is said there that Jayanta's 5th ancestor, named Śakti, had emigrated from Gauḍa and settled in Dārvābhisāra, a country which Dr. Bühler located on the frontiers of Kashmir.⁹⁵ The village of Gauramūlaka, which Jayanta's grandfather Kalyāṇa Svāmī is said to have acquired in consequence of having performed a *Sāṃgrahaṇī* sacrifice,⁹⁶ is mentioned as Ghoramūlaka in the *Rājatarāṅgiṇī*⁹⁷. According to Dr. Stein it was situated in the territory of Rājapurī within the boundaries of Dārvābhisāra.⁹⁸

King Śaṅkaravarman whom Jayanta describes as *Dharmatattvajña* and to whom he attributes the credit of having suppressed the *Nīlāmbaravṛata*, apparently a very obscene rite, cannot be identified with certainty. From Jayanta's words it would seem, as Col. Jacob has rightly guessed⁹⁹ that the king was a Jain.¹⁰⁰

Jayanta was known to his contemporaries as a *Vṛtti-kāra*¹⁰¹ or the author of a gloss on the Nyāya Sūtras of Gotama.¹⁰² Probably Nyāyamañjarī is the gloss here referred to. Guṇaratna in his Commentary on Śaṅkara's *Samuccaya*, ascribes to Jayanta a commentary on Nyāya-sāra, named Nyāyakalikā. It is not known whether this Commentary is now extant. Bühler notices a work of the same name by Jayanta in his Kashmir Report¹⁰³, but, until its contents are examined it would be impossible to say anything as to its identity.

The style of Nyāyamañjarī deserves special mention. It is unique of its kind, racy, humorous, brilliant, with a poignancy that is almost biting in its pointedness.¹⁰⁴ It is wonderfully eloquent, sweeping everything before its tremendous rush—the arguments of the Laukāyatikas as mercilessly as those of the Mīmāṃsakas. All through the work there runs a deep vein of religious earnestness—a sense of personal conviction—which renders its remarks on the views of the opponents so caustic and bitter. Thus, for instance, we read :

“ये त्वीश्वरं निरपवाददृढप्रमाण-
सिद्धस्वरूपमपि नाभ्युपयन्ति मूढाः ।
पापाय तैः सह कथापि वितन्यमाना
जायेत नूनमिति युक्तमतो विरन्तुम्” ॥¹⁰⁵

Compare also—

“मीमांसका यशः पिबन्तु, पयो वा पिबन्तु, बुद्धिजाड्यापनयनाय
ब्राह्मीघृतं वा पिबन्तु, वेदस्तु पुरुषप्रणीत एव नात्र भ्रान्तिः” ।¹⁰⁶

The general Śaiva Culture of Kashmir exercised a marked influence on Jayanta's personal creed. He was a Śaiva through and through. In his discussion on theism, he shows a decided bias towards the Kashmirian form

of this faith. Like Bhasarvajña and other Śaivite philosophers he, too, conceives of the Divinity as Śiva¹⁰⁷ and predicates of Him 5, rather than 3, of the 9 *viśeṣa-guṇas* pertaining to the *Ātman*. It is interesting to note that among these qualities, all eternal, we find both *Dharma* and *Sukha* (besides the usual trio, viz., *jñāna*, *icchā* and *kṛti*). He says—

“धर्मस्तु भूतानुग्रहवतो वस्तुस्वाभाव्याद् भवन् न वार्यते । तस्य फलं परमार्थनिष्पत्तिरेव । सुखं त्वस्य नित्यमेव नित्यानन्दत्वेनागमात् प्रतीतेः” ।¹⁰⁸

Now in the mouth of a Naiyāyika this would appear to be a remarkable confession. For, though strictly speaking *Dharma* is not denied to *Īśvara* in the orthodox system -- ‘यो धर्म ईश्वरे नासौ तत्र श्रव्यं करोति, किन्तु प्रत्यात्मवृत्तीन् धर्माधर्मसन्निचयाननुगृह्णाति’¹⁰⁹—it is admitted as a matter of concession. Thus, Uddyotakara expresses his own views—‘न चेश्वरे धर्मोऽस्ति’¹¹⁰ and ‘एतत्तु न बुध्यामहे यथा बुद्धिमत्तायामीश्वरस्य प्रमाणसद्भावो न चैवं धर्मादिनित्यत्वे प्रमाणमस्ति’ etc.¹¹¹. Vācaspati, too, says almost the same thing.¹¹² Similarly, as regards the existence of *nityasukha* and its presence in *Īśvara* (and with some, in the *mukta ātmans* as well), the usual evidence of the Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika is decidedly against it. The following words of Udayana may serve as the pith of their arguments :

“नित्यं तु सुखं न सत्यम्, योग्यानुपलम्भबाधितत्वात् । श्रुतिस्तत्र प्रमाणमिति चेत्, न, योग्यानुपलम्भबाधिते तदनवकाशात्, अवकाशे वा प्रावप्लवनश्रुतेरपि तथाभावप्रसङ्गात्” ।¹¹³

VI. VYOMASĪVĀCĀRYA

Vyomasīvacārya, as the name indicates, seems to me to have been a Śaiva Saint of the South. Though a high authority on Vaiśeṣika philosophy his name

has practically been forgotten. Rājaśekhara, in his commentary on the Nyāyakandalī (Nyāyakandalī-pañcikā), credits him with the authorship of a commentary named Vyomavatī on Praśastapāda's Padārtha-dharmasāṅgraha. This commentary was long believed to have been lost, but, it has recently been recovered and a transcribed copy of it exists in the Government Sanskrit Library, Benares, from which it appears that the work more than ordinarily deserved the renown which it once universally enjoyed. It is likely that the Ācārya of whom Udayana speaks in the Kiraṇāvalī is no other than Vyomaśiva and that Śrīdhara also presumably made use of his predecessor's work in writing the Kandalī.

Vyomaśiva was the leader, at any rate a learned representative, of a distinct section of Vaiśeṣika School and commanded a great influence on contemporary and subsequent thought. He accepted *Śabda* as a separate *pramāṇa* and had no sympathy with the people who suggested that the Vaiśeṣika did not admit the independence of Verbal Testimony as a valid source of knowledge. In regard to this view of his Maṇibhadra gives the following report in commenting on Haribhadra's *Ṣaḍdarśana-samuccaya* :

“यद्यपि औलूक्यशासने व्योमशिवाचार्योक्तानि त्रीणि प्रमाणानि,
तथापि श्रीधरमतपेक्षया अत्र उभे एव निगदिते” ।¹¹⁴

It is clear from this that there was already a split in the school which was due perhaps to the interpretation of the true import of the Sūtra (Vaiśeṣika 9.3.3) and was not of comparatively recent occurrence. Among the advocates of dual *pramāṇa* we find the names of scholars like Śrīdhara, Śivāditya, Vallabhācārya, Udayana (?), Rājaśekhara¹¹⁵

etc.¹¹⁵ And, Sureśvarācārya, in his *Mānasollāsa*,¹¹⁷ also, subscribes to this view.¹¹⁸ On the contrary, the interpretation of Vyomaśiva is confirmed by the statements of Śaṅkarācārya in the *Sarva-siddhānta-saṅgraha*¹¹⁹ and of Jindatta in the *Vivekavilāsa*.¹²⁰

The only other references to Vyomaśiva which I have hitherto found in Sanskrit philosophical literature occur in Vāḍindra's *Rasaśāra*¹²¹ and Vallabha's *Nyāya-lilāvatī*.¹²²

VII. UDAYANĀCĀRYA

The last great representative of the older schools of Nyāya and Vaiśeṣika was beyond question Udayanācārya.

Jayanta and Vācaspati Miśra wrote on Nyāya, while Śrīdhara wrote on Vaiśeṣika, but, the credit of combining for the first time the two allied systems into a joint form¹²³ is, according to tradition, due to Udayana. And, it was he who made the most pronounced effort to combat the anti-theistical tendencies of his age by bringing philosophy to the service of theology. His *Ātmatattva-viveka* & *Nyāya-kusumāñjali* are the best polemical treatises ever written with the avowed object of disposing of the Buddhist contentions against the doctrines of *Ātman* and *Īśvara* and of placing their truth on a firm and secure footing.

There is no doubt now as to the age of Udayanācārya. He lived in the fourth quarter of the 10th century as evidenced by the following *śloka* at the end of his *Lakṣaṇāvalī* :

“तर्काम्बराङ्कप्रमितेष्वतीतेषु शकान्ततः ।

वर्षेषूदयनश्चक्रे सुबोधां लक्षणावलीम्”॥

This gives 906 Śakābda or 984 A.D. for the composition of Lakṣaṇāvalī and as this was not probably his very last piece, his period of life may be carried some more years forward.

Udayana was a contemporary of Śrīdhara, but, it is not possible with the resources now available to determine which of them was the older. His Lakṣaṇāvalī was 7 years earlier than the Kandalī, but, there seems to be reason to believe that his Kiraṇāvalī was a later work. Besides, the case already cited by Paṇḍita Vindhyeśvarī Prasāda Dube¹²⁴, where the view of Śrīdhara appears to be cited and refuted in the Kiraṇāvalī, there is one positive instance of a similar kind. Thus, the view on *tamaḥ* as the imposed blue colour which is associated with Śrīdhara's name¹²⁵ is rejected in the Kiraṇāvalī¹²⁶, and, though the name of Śrīdhara is nowhere mentioned by Udayana it is nevertheless sure that his views were familiar to him. But, Udayana did not live to complete the work thus initiated which broke off abruptly in its course with *Buddhigrantha*. I think that on the death of Udayana Śrīdhara, still living, began to revise his book in the light of the criticisms made, not failing, however, in his turn to cast a fling at Udayana whenever occasion permitted. This is my own suggestion and may be accepted as a tentative explanation of the otherwise quite unintelligible fact of both Udayana and Śrīdhara quoting and refuting each other's views.¹²⁷

Udayana was a Śaiva, and, though professedly a Naiyāyika, he had the highest regard for Vedānta in its most rigorous and unfalsified form. His notion of Nyāya, too, was unique. His conception of the mutual relations of the various systems of Indian Philosophy, orthodox and heterodox, is extremely interesting. I am reminded

here of the remarkable passage in the *Ātmatattvaviveka* where he attempts to show that in its gradual ascent along the path of *Mokṣa* the soul is confronted with views which broaden out more and more. The different schools of philosophy representing the varied views thus obtained in passing are conceived to form a graduated series, arranged according to an ascending scale of spiritual realisation, and, in such a scheme the lower is always supposed to be a stepping stone to the higher and is to be superseded by it.¹²⁸ Udayana's works may be thus tabulated :

A. Commentaries on

- (a) Gotama's *Sūtras* (*Nyāya-pariśiṣṭa*).
- (b) *Praśastapāda's Padārtha-dharma-saṅgraha* (*Kiraṇāvalī*). It was the last work of Udayana and contains references to *Ātmatattvaviveka* and *Nyāya-kusumāñjali*.¹²⁹
- (c) *Vācaspati Miśra's Nyāya-vārttika-tātparya-ṭikā* (*Nyāya-vārttika-tātparya-pari-uddhi* or *Nyāya-nibandha*).

B. (a) *Ātmatattvaviveka* (known also as *Bauddhādhi-kāra* or *Bauddhadhikkāra*). This was probably one of his earliest works. It is a splendid production and represents probably the most vigorous defence of the Theory of Self on behalf of *Nyāya* against the merciless assaults of the Buddhist philosophers.

- (b) *Nyāya-Kusumāñjali*, consisting of 5 chapters, partly in prose and partly in verse. It contains a reference to *Ātmatattvaviveka*.

(c) *Lakṣaṇāvalī*.¹³⁰ This is a very useful booklet, containing a series of definitions of terms pertaining to the Vaiśeṣika Philosophy. It was composed in 906 *Śakābda* or 984 A.D. and was, therefore, earlier than the *Kiraṇāvalī* which succeeded the *Nyāya-kandalī* written in 991 A.D. So I do not find any warrant for Mr. Chakravarti's opinion¹³¹ that the *Kiraṇāvalī* preceded *Lakṣaṇāvalī*. The fact that the last *śloka* of *Lakṣaṇāvalī* is the same as the opening verse of the *Kiraṇāvalī* really proves nothing. For, we might as well argue from this fact that the former was earlier than the latter.

(d) *Prabodhasiddhi*, an original treatise in *Nyāya*, probably compiled from *Vātsyāyana*, *Uddyotakara* and *Vācaspati*.¹³² *Varadarāja* refers to it four times in the *Tārkikarakṣā*¹³³, and, though he does not attribute it to *Udayana* by name, there can be no doubt about *Udayana*'s authorship of it¹³⁴ from the fact that *Varadarāja* once speaks of the author as *Ācārya*¹³⁵, a term generally reserved by the later *Naiyāyikas* for *Udayana* (and sometimes for *Vācaspati* also).¹³⁶

VIII. ŚRĪDHARA

As the author of *Nyāya-kandalī*, a Commentary on *Prāśastapāda*'s *Padārtha-dharma-saṃgraha*, *Śrīdhara*'s reputation has come down to posterity. He was a great scholar, the last of that glorious band whose depth of learning was commensurate with their range of studies. In *Nyāya* his fame is known to be well-established: later writers have always acknowledged his authority, and, though some of his personal opinions, such as the

view on *tamaḥ*¹³⁷, are rejected in the subsequent history of this philosophy, the eminence of his position in the world of Indian thinkers remains still unaffected by it.

Śrīdhara is fortunately one of those few writers in the history of India who have left some account of themselves. He says in the Nyāya-kandalī¹³⁸, that he was born in the village of Bhūriśṛṣṭi in Southern Rāḍha (= दक्षिणराढ्यां भूरिश्रुष्टिः). His parents' names are given as Baladeva and Acchokā (or Abbokā), and, it appears that the Kāyastha gentleman named Pāṇḍudāsa, at whose request he undertook to write this Commentary, was his patron.

Besides (a) Nyāya-kandalī¹³⁹ which was composed in 913 Śaka (त्र्यधिकदशोत्तरनवशतशकाब्दं) or 991 A. D., Śrīdhara had also written—

- (b) Advaya-siddhi, an original work in Vedānta.¹⁴⁰
- (c) Tattva-prabodha, an original work in Mīmāṃsā¹⁴¹ and
- (d) Tattva-saṁvādinī.¹⁴²

Mr. Chakravarti notes¹⁴³ that Śrīdhara's Nyāya-kandalī was "little used in Bengal or Mithilā". But, this does not seem to me to have been exactly the case, at least so far as Mithilā is concerned. For, though undoubtedly it was not so widely read as Udayana's Kirāṇā-valī¹⁴⁴ and was confined to the specialists alone, its studies continued for some centuries uninterrupted, and, it was during these years of its flourishing condition that commentaries used to be written upon it. Padmanābha wrote a Commentary upon it (Nyāya-kandalī-sāra) as he had done upon Udayana's parallel work, and, looking at the opening verse of this commentary it would seem that Vardhamāna and other earlier writers had also commen-

ted upon it.¹⁴⁵ With the evidence for these commentaries, all by Maithilas, before us it would be hard to accept Mr. Chakravarti's statement regarding Mithilā as true. But, as to the fact of the general disuse of the book in Bengal there exists no ground for raising any question. It is really a mystery how a work written in Bengal, by a Bengali author and with real claims to appreciation should have gone out of fashion in the country of its birth. It seems to me equally inexplicable how this work, just like Bhāsarvajña's Nyāyasāra, could find such vogue among the Jain logicians. Rājaśekhara wrote a Commentary upon it (Nyāya-kandalī-pañjikā)¹⁴⁶ and refers to it in his Śaddarśana-samuccaya. Guṇaratna, in his gloss on Haribhadra's Śaddarśana-samuccaya and Malliṣeṇa in Syādvāda-mañjarī¹⁴⁷ also refer to it, and, so do many other Jaina writers.

IX. ŚIVADITYA MIŚRA

The earliest reference of Nyāyācārya¹⁴⁸ Śivāditya Miśra is found in Śrīharṣa's Khaṇḍana-khaṇḍa-khāḍya where the former's definition of *pramā* is strongly denounced. Śrīharṣa's time being the 12th century¹⁴⁹, Śivāditya may be placed a century or more earlier.

He seems to have been the author of two original works, both in Vaiśeṣika, viz., (a) Saptapadārthī and (b) Lakṣaṇamāla.¹⁵⁰

Paṇḍita Vindhyeśvarī Prasāda Dube¹⁵¹ assumes the identity of this Śivāditya with Vyomaśivācārya, the author of a Commentary on Praśastapāda-Bhāṣya. This assumption is not tenable. Probably this mis-identification proceeded from a confusion due to similarity of names and to an erroneous reading in one of the Mss. of Saptapadārthī.¹⁵²

Mr. Chakravarti¹⁵³ attributes to Śivāditya the credit of having added the Category of *abhāva* to the sixfold group of the older writers. But, this view cannot be accepted without some reservation. For, if it is meant by what he says that Śivāditya was the earliest known philosopher who gave to *abhāva* a place of importance in the discussion of Categories and that he was not its introducer, the view may be pronounced probable. But, if it implies, as it seems to do, that he added it as a fresh Category not hitherto recognised in the system, the error is apparent. The distinctive position of the Vaiśeṣika in the order of Indian Systems would suffer a deadly shock with the disappearance of *abhāva*. It forms, with *samavāya* and *viśeṣa*, the keystone of the whole system. It is true that in the older works¹⁵⁴ six Categories are explicitly enounced, but, it does not mean that *abhāva* is not recognised as real. The reason why it is excluded from the usual formulation of the Categories, all positive, is thus stated by Śrīdhara : “अभावस्य पृथगनुपदेशः भावपारतन्त्र्यात् त्वभावात्”.¹⁵⁵ With the Vaiśeṣika, (unlike the Sāṅkhya), for whom *Pratīti* (added to, but, in a greater measure than its counter part *Vyavahāra*) as an ultimate fact of consciousness given in the form of ‘belief’, is the determinant of objective reality, *abhāva* is necessarily real. It was under a metaphysical, rather than a logical, necessity that *abhāva* had to be postulated in this system. And, the necessity thus felt was twofold, arising (a) from the fundamental assumption of the school that *Mokṣa* is really negative,¹⁵⁶ and, (b) from its doctrine of *Asatkāryavāda* which allows of a real negative judgment. To illustrate this point we may revert to the position of *Satkāryavāda* such as that of Sāṅkhya or Yoga to see that a really negative predicate can

have no place in its theory of predication. It being assumed here that everything exists everywhere, or one thing is identical with another ("जात्यनुच्छेदेन सर्वं सर्व-त्मकं" ¹⁵⁷), all negation would be merely verbal (*Vaikalpika*). Let us take an example :

(A) The judgment 'घटो नास्ति' or more explicitly 'मृत्तिकायां घटो नास्ति' would be a real judgment according to the Vaiśeṣika and lend itself to a double interpretation—(i) it may mean that the jar, being not yet produced, does not exist in the Matter (*mṛttikā*); this would be *Prāgabhāva*; or (ii) it may mean that the jar, being destroyed, does not exist in the Matter (*mṛttikā*); this would be *Dhvaṃsa*. But, both these kinds of *abhāva* are, according to the Sāṅkhya-Yoga, really two forms of *bhāva* (there being no room for *Asat* in this system), the one known as the *Anāgata-dharma* and the other as the *Atīta-dharma* of the Matter (*mṛttikā*). Both are equally positive in content. The judgment 'घटो नास्ति', therefore, as in (i) and (ii), or more strictly 'मृत्तिका घटाभाववती', would be a pseudo-judgment, the true (of course relatively) judgment taking the form of 'मृत्तिका घटवती', even when the *ghaṭa* is not produced or is already destroyed. In other words, while in Sāṅkhya-Yoga *abhāva* is not allowed to be a real predicate or *Dharma*, in Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika it is. It may be observed that the Vaiśeṣika allows only what is called in Sāṅkhya-Yoga *varttamāna-dharma*, i. e., *udīta-dharma*, to be a positive predicate. That is, *ghaṭa* may be a positive predicate of *mṛttikā* or *mṛttikā* may be said to be the *ādhāra* of *ghaṭa*, only after its production and before its destruction, in other words when it is *varttamāna*. And, for explaining this presence or *varttamānatā* of the product in the Matter, the relation

of *Samavāya* has to be assumed. But, before the production and after the destruction *ghaṭa* is negatively predicable. This is a fundamental difference between the two systems, resulting necessarily from the two assumptions of *Satkārya* or *Asatkārya*. Naturally, therefore, the *atīta* & *anāgata vastu*, though admitted to be *prameya* or object (*viśaya*) of right knowledge, are held in the Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika as *asat* or non-existing (but, not *tuccha* or *avastu* as the Bauddha might say), i. e., *dhvaṃsa* and *prāgabhāva* are respectively predicable of them.

(B) Similarly the judgment 'पटो घटो न', where the identity of the objects *paṭa* and *ghaṭa* is denied would be a false judgment according to Sāṅkhya-Yoga. Really *paṭa* being identical with *ghaṭa* (*tadātmaka*) there is no ground for such negation. But, since the Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika does not hold *Prakṛti-kāranavāda* or the doctrine of the Immanence and Unity of Matter of which the manifold (*vaicitrya*) given in experience is more or less (i e., graded) a manifestation, and, consequently is an advocate of absolute difference (*atyantabheda*) between one thing and another, it cannot do without what is technically called *anyonyābhāva*.

(C) And so with *atyantābhāva* too. Everthing being everywhere and so there being no possibility of any relation (*samsarga*) like *Samyoga* or *Samavāya* which implies the existence of two really distinct objects, *atyantābhāva* is no more than a verbal fiction.

Briefly speaking, then, the *Prakṛtivāda* of the Sāṅkhya, of which *Satkāryavāda* is an aspect, leaves it no room for real *abhāva* (or *sambandha*). All predication is reduced to identification; *dharmī* or logical subject, i.e., *kāraṇa* (*upādāna*) is identical with *dharma* or predicate,

i. e., *kārya*. Matter (*Prakṛti*) is the subject in the last resort, and, all else, viz., the products (*Vikṛtis*), are its predicates. These predicates, all positive, are each threefold in character—*atīta*, *anāgata* & *varttamāna*, this division being founded on the bare fact of succession given in the limited consciousness (*vr̥ttyātmaka jñāna*) and not on the reality (*svarūpataḥ*) in which all the predicates co-exist and are identical with the subject. That is to say, time itself being a product predicates appear within it as successive, but, beyond it in Eternity—or in *Mūlā Prakṛti*, the predicates are already given as existing together and somehow in-explicably identical with it. This is *tādātmya*. [From this it will be plain why Sāṅkhya-Yoga does not feel the necessity of admitting *Sāmānya* and *Viśeṣa*, both predicates, as distinct categories. And, real difference being denied, it is easy to understand how the necessity of *Samavāya* also is dispensed with.]

The Vaiśeṣika, on the other hand, with his assumption of real difference, corresponding to, and, necessitated by the difference in *pratyaya* and *vyavahāra*, was thrown upon the *Asatkāryavāda* (which is, looked at from a slightly different standpoint, the same thing as *Ārambhavāda* & *Paramāṇuvāda*) which led him in logical course to maintain the reality of succession and with this of what are technically termed *prāgabhāva* & *dhvaṁsa*. Their *anyonyābhāva* also follows naturally from the view of the reality of difference given in consciousness, viz., *ghaṭa* is other than not-*ghaṭa*, e. g., *paṭa*. This is in logical terms nothing, but, a combined statement of the principles of Identity and Contradiction, thus, symbolically $A=A$, & $A=\text{not-not-}A$. It seems to have been the outcome of a reaction against the extreme views of

the Sāṅkhya on one hand with whom $A = B$ and of the Bauddha on the other with whom $A = \text{not-}A$. A real *Saṁsarga* (*saṁyoga* and *samavāya*) being admitted, its absence led to the postulation of *atyantābhāva*.

Without entering into further detail in this place it may be just said that the concept of *abhāva* is so intimately bound up with this system as a whole that its denial would mean the overthrow of its distinctive character.

Then again in the actual texts of the older writers *abhāva* is found recognised.¹⁵⁸ Even Kaṇāda himself, though not mentioning it in his enumeration of the Categories (1.1.4), devotes some *sūtras* to a discussion of it in the ninth chapter. Thus, the absence of Kaṇāda's mention of it by name in the *Uddeśa-sūtra* is no proof against its recognition by him. Vallabhācārya says—

“अभावस्य च समानतन्त्रसिद्धस्याप्रतिषिद्धस्य न्यायदर्शने मानसेन्द्रियतासिद्धिवदत्राप्यविरोधादभ्युपगमसिद्धान्तसिद्धत्वात्” ।¹⁵⁹

To this Śaṅkara Miśra adds the following explanatory notes in his *Nyāyalīlāvati-kaṇṭhābharana* :¹⁶⁰

“तेषु लक्षितलक्षणत्वात् (correct reading ‘लक्षितेष्वलक्षितलक्षणत्वात्’) इत्यादिसूत्रे न्यायदर्शने समाने तन्त्रेऽभावस्य व्युत्पादितत्वादत्र च तदप्रतिषेधात् परमतमप्रतिषिद्धमनुमतमिति न्यायेन सूत्रकृतस्तत्राभ्युपगमनोन्नयनात् । यथा गोतमेन मनस इन्द्रियत्वं नोक्तमप्रतिषेधादभ्युपगतञ्च” ।¹⁶¹

I think it has now been demonstrated that there is no warrant for asserting, as Mr. Chakravarti has done¹⁶² that Śivāditya ‘added’ *abhāva* “to the six Categories of the older writers.”¹⁶³ He simply expli-

cated, giving to it the name of the 'seventh' Category, what had already been recognised in the system as a real Category.

X. VARADARĀJA

The exact time of Varadarāja's life is very hard of determination. Dr. Venis places him in the interval between 1050 & 1300 A. D. or more definitely about the first half of the 12th century.¹⁶⁴ Though a greater precision is not attainable on this matter in the present state of our knowledge, a word or two may be suggested here. Jñānapūrṇa, whose time cannot be later than the 13th century and possibly was much earlier, alludes in the beginning of his Commentary called Laghupikā to Varadarāja as having lived long ago (*purā*). This would appear to furnish a plea for pushing back this date by some decades at any rate. And, the constant references to Udayana in the Tārīkīkarakṣā seem to me to indicate, not merely that Varadarāja was his admirer, but, that he was his close successor as well. As a provisional step, therefore, I would prefer to claim for him as his approximate date the middle of the 11th century.¹⁶⁵

Varadarāja is known to have written only three works :

A. Commentaries on

(a) Udayana's

- (i) Nyāya-kusumāñjali (= *Bodhanī*). Mallinātha refers to it in his Commentary on the Tārīkīkarakṣā¹⁶⁶ : "एतच्च ग्रन्थकृतैव स्पष्टीकृतं न्यायकुसुम-ञ्जलिटीकायामित्यास्तां तावत्". Burnell¹⁶⁷ notices a copy of this Commentary existing in the Palace Library of Tanjore, where the name

of the author's father is given as Mahāmahopādhyāya Rāmadeva Miśra.¹⁶⁸

(ii) Kiraṇāvalī.¹⁶⁹

B. Tārkikarakṣā, sometimes called Tarkakārikā, a treatise on Nyāya consisting of 160 Kārikās distributed in three chapters (97 + 34 + 29) and of a Commentary named Sārasaṅgraha. The book is referred to in the Sarvadarśana-saṅgraha.

XI. VALLABHĀCĀRYA

Vallabhācārya was one of the greatest authorities on Vaiśeṣika Philosophy, next only to Udayanācārya, in the mediaeval period of its history. There are certain peculiar views associated with his name in subsequent literature, but, as we have dealt with them at length in our forthcoming work on the history of Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika Philosophy, there is no use reverting to them here.

He was the author of Nyāyalīlāvatī, an independent¹⁷⁰ work on Vaiśeṣika. This work has had the rare good fortune, viz., much like Gaṅgeśa's Tattva-cintāmaṇi, of finding a host of commentators.

Vallabha's nationality is not known. But, his date may be assigned with tolerable certainty to the end of the 12th century A. D.¹⁷¹

XII. ŚAŚADHARA

It is believed that Śaśadhara was one of the great Naiyāyikas of the pre-Gaṅgeśa School and that in Gaṅgeśa's Tattva-cintāmaṇi there is a reference to him.

definition of *vyūpti*.¹⁷² As there is no mention of Gaṅgeśa or his successors in Śaśadhara's work available to us, there is no inherent improbability in the correctness of this belief.

Śaśadhara may, therefore, be placed between Udayana to whom he refers and Gaṅgeśa, i. e., in the middle of the 12th century.

He was the author of *Nyāya-siddhānta-dīpa*, an excellent treatise on Nyāya.¹⁷³

XIII. VĀDĪNDRA

Mahādeva Sarvajña Vādindra was one of the greatest polemic writers in the field of Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika in mediaeval India and deserves to be ranked, so far as dialectical abilities are concerned, with Śrīharṣa and similar other writers.

He is said to have been the pupil of one Yogīśvara. His name Vādindra is apparently due to his reputation among his contemporaries as a great controversialist, and, we know that Citsukha and other subsequent writers referred to him under this very name. His pupil Bhaṭṭa Rāghava speaks very often, in his Commentary on Nyāyasāra, of his large following. Vādindra was a votary of Śiva¹⁷⁴, and, it is not unlikely that the words *Śaṅkara-kiṅkara* as used in Mādhava's *Sarvadarśana-saṅgraha*¹⁷⁵ and, *Hara-kiṅkara* as in the Colophon of the *Mahāvidyā-vidāmbana* are, to be understood as meaning a 'devotee of Śiva' rather than a 'pupil of the Ācārya named Śaṅkara or Hara.' He describes himself in his work on the *Mahāvidyā* as the *Dharmādhyakṣa* of King Śrī Siṃha, whom Mr. M. R. Telang identifies with Rājā Siṃhaṇa of the Yādava dynasty of Devagiri.¹⁷⁶

The manuscript of Bhaṭṭa Rāghava's Nyāyasāra-vicāra, which exists in the Government Sanskrit Library, Benares, is dated in Śakābda 1174 (=1252 A. D.).¹⁷⁷ But, Rāghava was the direct pupil of Vādindra as he says expressly in his colophons as well as in the beginning of his Commentary. Vādindra may, therefore, be placed in the early part of the 13th century. This date synchronises well with the time of his patron, Rājā Siṅghaṇa or Śrī Siṃha.

Vādindra was the author of the following works :

(1) Mahāvidyā-vidāmbana :

It has been published in the Gaekwad's Oriental Series, No. XII. It was perhaps the *magnum opus* of this gifted author and created quite a sensation in his time. His great controversialistic genius appears at its best in this work, where he attempts to prove the futility and defects of the so-called Mahāvidyā syllogisms, which played an important part in the history of Mediaeval Indian Logic.

(2) Rasasāra :

This is a Commentary on the Guṇa-Kiraṇāvalī of Udayana. It has been published in the Sarasvatī Bhavana Sanskrit Texts of Benares (No. 5).

(3) Kaṇādasūtranibandha.¹⁷⁸

(4) A Commentary on Udayana's Lakṣaṇāvalī :

Śeṣa Śārṅgadharma, in his Commentary, Nyāya-muktāvalī, on Lakṣaṇāvalī says :

“वादीशास्तु साधनशब्दस्य कारणवाचित्वमभ्युपगम्य निर्विकल्पकजनकशरीरसंयोगाधिकरणत्वे सति योगजधर्मजन्य-

साक्षात्काराविषयत्वे सति शरीरत्वानधिकरणमिन्द्रियमिति
यथाश्रुतमेवैतद् व्याचक्षते” ।¹⁷⁹

This passage would seem to show that Vādīśa, whom I take to be identical with Vādīndra, wrote a Commentary on Lakṣaṇāvalī. The name Vādīndra also occurs in the same Commentary¹⁸⁰, and, the term Vādīndra being only an honorific title there is no inherent difficulty in understanding the two names as representing one person. It is much like *Śaṅkara-kiṅkara* being substituted by *Hara-kiṅkara* as already noted.

(5) A metrical philosophical treatise :

The name of this tract does not appear. But, the quotations under Vādīndra's name as given in the Sarvadarśana-saṅgraha and Nyāyasāra-vicāra being in verse, it seems likely that he was the author of a metrical tract.

XIV. BHATṬA RĀGHAVA

Bhaṭṭa Rāghava's Commentary on Bhāsarvajña's Nyāyasāra (Nyāyasāra-vicāra) is the only work from his pen known to philosophical bibliography, and, though it does not seem to have ever been widely used in later times, its importance is none the less very great. Apart from the fact that this book furnishes a clear exposition of Bhāsarvajña's doctrines which it professes to defend from the attacks of opponents, it contains a number of lengthy discussions relating to certain topics raised in the text [which are historically of great value to a student of contemporary philosophy.

There exists a manuscript of this Commentary in the Government Sanskrit Library, Benares (fols. 2-100), where in the Colophon the date of its composition is given as 1174 Śaka or 1252 A. D.¹⁸¹

The name of Rāghava's father appears as Sāraṅga¹⁸² and his *Guru* was Mahādeva Sarvajña Vādīndra¹⁸³; this Vādīndra is probably identical with the author of the same name to whom *Rasasāra*, a commentary on the second part of the *Kiraṇāvalī*, is attributed.¹⁸⁴

Rāghava was a Śaiva.¹⁸⁵ His native country is not known for certain, but, it seems likely that he was a man of the South. In his Commentary he quotes or refers to the earlier authorities as below :

- खण्डनमण्डनाः¹⁸⁶4b²
 वात्स्यायनमत7a⁷
 न्यायभाष्यकाराः8b⁴
 मीमांसकाः } 8b⁵
 चार्वाकाः }
 भूषण, भासर्वज्ञ11b⁴
 वार्त्तिककृत12b⁶, 20a⁷
 तथा चोक्तम्—लौकिकी प्रतिभा यद्वत् etc. . 16a³⁻⁴
 तदुक्तम्—एकेन तु प्रमाणेन etc.16a⁵
 तदाह—यदि षड्भिः प्रमाणैः स्यात्¹⁸⁷16a⁶
 तदुक्तम्—न सोऽस्ति प्रत्ययो लोके etc.¹⁸⁸ ... 18b³⁻⁴
 वार्त्तिककार18b⁴
 केचिद् विचक्षणाः19b²

(Apparently this is an ironical reference to an earlier Commentator on *Nyāyasāra* to whose interpretation Rāghava takes serious objection. Thus, in Bhāsarvajña's definition of *Anumāna*—‘सम्यगविनाभावेन परोक्षानुभवसाधनमनुमानम्’—this unnamed annotator tries to establish a syntactical relation between the words *samyak* and *anubhava* which Rāghava would not allow.

Who is the Commentator meant here ?

रामभट्टप्रभृतयः19b⁵

Rāma Bhaṭṭa was another Commentator on Nyāya-sāra whose name and work have been forgotten. In connection with the foregoing definition of *Anumāna* Rāma Bhaṭṭa, as against the view already set forth, prefers to take *samyak* in relation to the immediately succeeding word, on which Rāghava's criticism follows.

2. THE MODERN PERIOD

A. THE SCHOOL OF MITHILĀ

I. GAṄGEŚA UPĀDHYĀYA

There is no man perhaps in the history of Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika Philosophy more frequently heard of on the lips of scholars than Gaṅgeśa or Gaṅgeśvara Upādhyāya of Mithilā. He gave to this philosophy a new line of development and created for it a new field of work ; and, for practical purposes, he may be said to have been the father of that form of Nyāya Śāstra with which we are familiar to-day. Essentially a keen dialectician and a brilliant controversialist, he made it the sole end of his literary life to make Nyāya Śāstra a Science of Debate. For this reason he devoted all his energies and intellectual abilities to the task of expounding problems of a methodological and epistemological character. The Tattvacintāmaṇi, which forms the noblest monument of his genius, deals almost exclusively with the Theory of Knowledge and the kindred logical questions (*pramāṇa*), leaving very little room for pure Metaphysics or Ontology. Even the little theistic tract which has come down to us from his pen is more strictly a work on *Anumāna khaṇḍa*, of which it is expressly stated to form a part, than an independent ontological piece.

It is usually believed that it was Gaṅgeśa who for the first time gave to *pramāṇa* a place of great importance in the Science (& Art) of Debate and inaugura-

ted its studies to the exclusion of everything else in the schools with a rigour almost unprecedented in the history of modern philosophy. And, further, to Gaṅgeśa is universally ascribed the credit of founding the Neo-logic of Eastern India which with its militant dialectics and spirit of analytical criticism has won its way into every form of intellectual life in the country. That the first of these propositions is unfounded needs no pointing out. For, what Gaṅgeśa did for the orthodox system had already been accomplished by the Buddhist and Jain logicians who had preceded him. Dignāga's *Pramāṇa-samuccaya*, Dharmakīrti's *Pramāṇa-vārttika* and *Pramāṇa-viniścaya*, Vidyānanda's *Pramāṇa-parīkṣā* and Deva Sūri's *Pramāṇa-naya-tattvāloka* are some of the works on *pramāṇa* which Gaṅgeśa had before him already in the field. But, the second proposition may be accepted, for our notion of Neo-logic is bound up with *Tattvacintāmaṇi* and the series of commentaries and sub-commentaries upon it; but, even here it must be remembered that our restriction of '*navya*' to Gaṅgeśa is only of a practical value. In the *Vidhivāda* section of *Śabda-khaṇḍa*,¹⁸⁹ Gaṅgeśa himself refers to the views of Sondala Upādhyāya as those of a modern scholar (*navyās tu*), thus, showing that the term had already been in vogue even before the days of Gaṅgeśa. The word being only a relative term, it is intelligible why Udayana, Bhāsarvajña before Gaṅgeśa and Raghunātha, etc., after him should have equally been characterised as modern. Nevertheless, in the sense in which we employ the word *Navya-nyāya* at the present day, it refers to Gaṅgeśa and to him alone.

Gaṅgeśa's date is not known with certainty. All that we know about it is that he quotes or refers to the

views and statements of his predecessors some of whom he mentions by name. Of these Khaṇḍana-kāra (i. e., Śrīharṣa, author of Khaṇḍana-khaṇḍa-khāḍya), *Jarānāyāyika* (i. e., Jayanta, author of Nyāya-mañjarī), Maṇḍanācārya (author of Vidhiviveka) and Śivāditya (author of Saptapadārthī) are admittedly very early, being assigned to periods approximately known. But, these render us no help in clearing up the date problem of Gaṅgeśa. The dates of Ratnakośa and Nyāyalīlāvātī, also quoted in Tattvacintāmaṇi, have not yet been ascertained, though we have found that the author of Nyāyalīlāvātī may tentatively be assigned to the 12th century A. D. The only conclusion, therefore, which the premises justify us in drawing in the present state of our imperfect knowledge is that Gaṅgeśa may be placed somewhere in the 13th century A. D.

Regarding his personal history we have no authentic records. There are certain floating traditions which make him in his early life a blockhead whose ascent to greatness was absolutely an act of Divine Grace.

II. VARDHAMĀNA

Gaṅgeśa was succeeded in Mithilā by his son Vardhamāna Upādhyāya who followed in the wake of his illustrious father and kept alive the fire of the New Science which the latter had kindled. In point of scholarship Vardhamāna does not seem to have been in any way less than his great father, and, the works which proceeded from him are still universally resorted to as of the highest authority in the subjects concerned. His style is elaborate, but, free from verbosity and bathos. He is known to have been the author of the following works :

A. Commentaries on

(a) Gotama's

- i. Nyāya-Sūtras (= Anvikṣā-tattva-bodha¹⁹⁰ or simply Tattva-bodha).

The work is of the nature of a gloss and seems to have treated the whole text. The Prameya-tattva-bodha to which Rucidatta and Jayarāma refer as the work of Vardhamāna¹⁹¹ and the Pramāṇa-tattva-bodha¹⁹² also attributed to Vardhamāna in Rucidatta's Commentary on Tattvacintāmaṇi¹⁹³ may be only sections of Anvikṣā-tattva-bodha and no separate treatises.

(b) Udayana's

- i. Nyāya-kusumāñjali-prakaraṇa(= Kusumāñjali-prakāśa).
- ii. Kiraṇāvalī (= Kiraṇāvalī-prakāśa).
- iii. Nyāya-vārttika-tātparya-pariśuddhi(= Nyāya-nibandha-prakāśa).
- iv. Nyāya-pariśiṣṭa (= Pariśiṣṭa-prakāśa).

(c) Śrīharṣa's

- i. Khaṇḍana-khaṇḍa-khāḍya. This work was utilised by Pragalbha in writing his own Commentary on Śrīharṣa's treatise. Vācaspati II, in his Khaṇḍanoddhāra¹⁹⁴, refers to Vardhamāna's Khaṇḍana-phakkikoddhāra which may be identical with it.

(d) Vallabha's

- i. Nyāyalīlāvatī (= Līlāvatī-prakāśa)

and

(c) Gaṅgeśa's

i. Tattvacintāmaṇi (= Cintāmaṇi-prakāśa).

These are all the works of Vardhamāna with which we are acquainted to-day. But, it is generally believed that Vardhamāna also wrote a Commentary on Udayana's Ātma-tattvaviveka, but, the work has since been lost.

We shall not be probably far in the wrong if we place Vardhamāna in the first quarter of the 14th century; but, there is no ground in Mr. Chakrvarti's assertion, repeated by Dr. Vidyābhūṣaṇa¹⁹⁵, that he is named by Mādhavācārya in the *Pāṇinidarsana* section of his *Sarvadarśana-saṅgraha*. The Vardhamāna, also a Mahopādhyāya, whose name is mentioned in Mādhava's work, was a grammarian, being the author of Gaṇaratna-mahodadhi.

III. PAKṢADHARA ALIAS JAYADEVA MIŚRA

For a long time after the death of Vardhamāna there was no thinker in Mithilā to preserve, far less to enrich, the new philosophy of the country. Supposing that our assumption of Vardhamāna's date is practically right, we would find that during the long interval of over a century after his age Mithilā was without any scholar with any pretension to philosophical renown.

By the third quarter of the 15th century was born Pakṣadhara *alias* Jayadeva Miśra to whom we are indebted for the revival of interest in the study of Cintāmaṇi. In plain truth Pakṣadhara was one of the greatest intellects that modern Mithilā has ever produced. He was the nephew and pupil¹⁹⁶ of Hari Miśra with whom he

had read philosophy and whose memory he gratefully revered in the benedictory verse of his Commentary on the Cintāmaṇi : “पितृव्यहरिमिश्रोपदिष्टः”.

He was the author of commentaries on

(a) Śaśadhara's

- i. Nyāya-siddhānta-dīpa. A Ms. of this work exists in the Government Sanskrit Library, Benares.

(b) Gaṅgeśa's

- i. Tattvacintāmaṇi (= Cintāmaṇyaloka)
and

(c) Vardhamāna's

- i. Kiraṇāvalī-prakāśa
and
- ii. Nyāyalilāvatī-prakāśa (= Lilāvatī-viveka).

It may be of interest to note that in the Government Sanskrit Library, Benares, there is a Ms. of a commentary, called Tippanī, on the Cintāmaṇi, by Pakṣadhara, which is different from the Āloka. It is dated Samvat 1667.

From a survey of the contemporary literature it seems certain that on its first appearance the Āloka, which formed indeed the best product of Pakṣadhara's labour, created a great sensation in the world of letters of that time. It was read and taught, admired and criticised in every circle. All parties set themselves to write commentaries upon it. What this general stir was really due to we have no means of knowing. But, it is probable that Pakṣadhara's new interpretation was mainly responsible for it.

From Gaṅgeśa down to Pakṣadhara *Navya-nyāya* had its sole home in Mithilā. The Paṇḍitas of that place, who had made it their monopoly and been so long its trusted guardians, took especial care to see that this privilege of teaching the Śāstra did not pass away from them into what they perhaps thought unworthy hands.¹⁹⁷ Students from various parts of India used to flock to Mithilā to draw inspiration from its far-famed scholars; and, when they completed their studies they returned home with the diploma which their *Guru* had conferred upon them. This diploma was very highly prized, since to secure such a certificate from Mithilā, the Centre of the current philosophical thought and activities, was not quite an easy affair. And, if a man could once manage to win for himself a diploma of this kind, his scholarship was recognised all over the country without a note of grudging criticism.

IV. VĀSUDEVA MIŚRA

Pakṣadhara had many pupils of whom Vāsudeva Miśra, Rucidatta and Bhagīratha Ṭhakkura in Mithilā and Vāsudeva Sārvabhauma, Raghunātha Śiromaṇi, etc., in Bengal, were the most conspicuous.

Vāsudeva Miśra was Pakṣadhara's brother's son.¹⁹⁸ When Pakṣadhara's new interpretations were called in question and subjected to severe criticism, it was he who came forward to vindicate his uncle's cause and establish his authority.¹⁹⁹ His commentary on the *Tattvacintāmaṇi*, known as *Nyāya-siddhānta-sāra* refers to these overweening captious critics in these terms—

“तर्कमधीते सर्वः कति न भवन्तीह पण्डितस्मन्या ।

वाचा विचारदक्षा विरलाः पुनरत्र विद्वांसः” ॥

meaning that it is easier to be quibbling and casuistic than to command real wisdom.

V. RUCIDATTA MIŚRA

But, the most widely known of Pakṣadhara's pupils was Rucidatta, popularly called Bhaktu, a native of the village of Sodarapura. His parents were Devadatta and Reṇukī. He had two brothers named Śaktidatta and Matidatta. Among his works the following three commentaries only can so far be traced ; these are :

A. Commentaries on

(a) Gaṅgeśa's

- i. Tattvacintāmaṇi (= Cintāmaṇi-prakāśa), referred to, in its several sections, in (b-i). In this work he speaks of having read the Śāstras with several *Gurus*.

(b) Vardhamāna's

- i. Kusumāñjali-prakāśa (= Kusumāñjali-makaranda). This is a very useful work. Though not a running commentary and quite original it makes an honest and generally successful attempt to make Vardhamāna's purport often hidden and deep beneath the surface, intelligible to the reader,

and

- ii. (Dravya) Kiraṇīvalī-prakāśa (= Dravya-prakāśa-vivṛti).²⁰⁰

There is a Ms. of this work in the Government Sanskrit Library, Benares, dated Sainvat 1600 (= 1543 A.D.).

The time when Rucidatta flourished may be approximately fixed on the following data :

(a) There is a Ms. of his Makaranda in the Government Sanskrit Library, Benares, (no. 122) which bears the date 423 (*Akṣipakṣanigama*) La Saṁ, corresponding to the year 1542 A. D. But, as this is the date of transcription of the Ms., the author may be set down to some time earlier still.

(b) But the time of Rucidatta is placed beyond all reasonable doubt by a look at the Ms. of a copy of Kiraṇāvalī transcribed by himself in the year 386 (= *Rasavasuharanetra*) La Saṁ, corresponding to the year 1505 A. D.²⁰¹

That this is the true date of Rucidatta will become apparent when we shall find it synchronising with the age of his contemporary and fellow-pupil Bhagīratha Thakkura. The date 1292 Śaka (= 1370 A. D.) which appears in a Ms. of his Cintāmaṇi-prakāśa, as reported by Peterson,²⁰² is, therefore, to be taken as a slip of the pen on the part of the scribe.

VI. RAGHUPATI

Raghupati was Mahāmahopādhyāya Rucidatta's son. He was the author of a Commentary on Tattva-cintāmaṇi, of which two Mss., one of the *Śabda-khaṇḍa* (*Śabdamāṇiparīkṣā*), dated Sainvat 1644 (= 1587 A. D.) and the other of the *Anumāna-khaṇḍa*, exist in the Government Sanskrit Library, Benares.

VII. BHAGĪRATHA ṬHAKKURA

Bhagīratha *alias* Megha Ṭhakkura of Mithilā was also Pakṣadhara's pupil, as already stated. He himself says that he had received his philosophical training under Jayadeva and distinguished himself as a scholar of some renown at the early age of 20.²⁰³ His parents were Candrapati and Dhirā, and, Maheśa Ṭhakkura, of whom we shall speak shortly, was his youngest brother. Among his other brothers we find the names of Mahādeva and Dāmodara mentioned in Maheśa's Darpaṇa. Mahādeva was probably his elder brother and Dāmodara his immediately younger one.²⁰⁴

We know of the following works of Bhagīratha, viz., commentaries on—

(a) Vardhamāna's

- i. Kiraṇāvalīprakāśa (= Kiraṇāvalī-prakāśa-bhāva-prakāśikā). Mss. of this work, dated Śaka 1511 (शशिद्वययुतस्मरबाणचन्द्र) or 1588 A. D. and Saṃvat 1654 or 1597 A.D. are in the Government Sanskrit Library, Benares.
- ii. Nyāya-kusumāñjali-prakāśa (= Kusumāñjali-prakāśikā)²⁰⁵
and
- iii. Nyāyalīlāvati-prakāśa²⁰⁶ (Nyāyalīlāvati-prakāśikā).

All these commentaries are popularly known under the name of *Jalada*. Bhagīratha is called "Śaṅkara Bhagīratha." in a Ms. of his commentary on Līlāvati (in Government Sanskrit Library, Benares)

VIII. MAHEŚA ṬHAKKURA

Maheśa Ṭhakkura was Bhagīratha's younger brother and founder of the present Raj family of Darbhanga. He rose into prominence even more quickly than his brother. He was the author of an excellent Commentary, called *Darpaṇa* on Pakṣadhara's *Cintāmaṇyāloka*, which displays his great acumen. One of the main objects of his writing this Commentary seems to have been, as in the case of Vāsudeva Miśra or Madhusūdana Ṭhakkura, to reclaim Pakṣadhara's renown from hostile attacks. The phrase '*Pramathitakhaladarpaṇi*', as applied to himself in his *Darpaṇa* is suggestive.

But, it is strange that he did not prosecute his studies with the great Pakṣadhara whose name at that time must have been a household word in Mithilā. His brother Bhagīratha had been Pakṣadhara's pupil. What stood in the way of Maheśa then that he was compelled to travel all the way over to Benares and study with a Deccani Paṇḍita—Rāmeśvara Bhaṭṭa ? It is hard to discover the true cause of this. But, two alternative explanations may be suggested :—

(a) Either that Pakṣadhara had been recently dead or even if living he must have been too old to hold regular classes ;

(b) or that Maheśa's personal predilections for Vedāntic studies led him to come over to Kāśī, which had been the principal seat of Vedic culture ever since the days of Śaṅkarācārya or even earlier, and, seek instructions with a foreign though far-famed scholar.

At any rate his stay in Benares and his pursuit of what I take to be Vedāntic studies had the natural effect of broadening his outlook. His attitude towards Vedānta became tolerant and even respectful, being free from those prejudices which were a characteristic feature of a Naiyāyika's mind. Thus, in the light of what has been said above, we are in a better position to understand the meaning of the following statement quoted from Maheśa's Commentary (*Anumāna* Section) :

“तदेतत् संक्षेपेण वेदान्तिमतं लिखितम्, न द्वेषितम्, श्रुतिपुराण-
स्मृतिशिष्टानुशिष्टत्वात्” ।

This passage indicates a departure from the custom of the Nyāya writer and a leaning towards Vedānta.

Maheśa is known from expressions in his work to have been a Vaiṣṇava (*Viṣṇupārah*) in faith, being an earnest votary of the *Bālagopāla* form of Śrīkṛṣṇa.

The age of Maheśa may be fixed with tolerable certainty. It is well known that he obtained the kingdom of Darbhanga as a free gift from the then reigning ruler of Mithilā (the last descendant of Kāmeśa's family). As to when this grant was made Māhāmahopādhyāya Haraprasāda Śāstrī assigns it to the early part of the 16th century, saying that the Charter was ratified by Sher Shah and Akbar. He further adds that a letter from Maheśa to Raghunātha (composed at Nadiā in 1529 A.D.) is found in a Ms. of *Vaivasvata-siddhānta* deposited in the Bengal Asiatic Society's Library.²⁰⁷ Though this statement is contradicted by the date given for Maheśa's assumption of royalty in the well-known inscription on well at Dhanukhā in Mithilā,²⁰⁸ the difference between the the two dates is insignificant, and,

it may be taken for certain that Maheśa belonged to the middle of the 16th century. Maheśa seemed to have reigned long. We know of a work named *Sarvadeśa-vṛttānta-saṅgraha*, which describes a part of Akbar's reign and was composed in his reign. It is attributed to Maheśa Thakkura.²⁰⁰ If this Maheśa be identical with the author of *Darpana*, as is very likely, he was certainly contemporary with Akbar, and, therefore, lived in a part of the latter half of the 16th century, Akbar's reign having commenced in 1556 A. D.

IX. JIVANĀTHA MIŚRA

Jivanātha was Śaṅkara Miśra's uncle, being the elder brother of Bhavanātha. No work by him has yet been discovered, but, from the statement in the *Upakāra* (under Sūtra 9. 2. 1), where his view on the definition of *Pakṣa*²¹⁰ is quoted, it appears that Jivanātha left some written works behind him.

X. BHAVANĀTHA MIŚRA

Dr. Gaṅgānātha Jhā, in his Preface to the *Vādivinoda*,²¹¹ affirms, obviously on the strength of local tradition, that Bhavanātha, otherwise known as Bube Miśra (also known under the nickname *Ayācī*) was a great scholar in various subjects etc. His works on *Mīmāṃsā* and *Vyākaraṇa* are available, but, nothing is known about his *Nyāya* and *Vaiśeṣika* treatises, if he had written any.

XI. ŚAṅKARA MIŚRA

Except perhaps the great *Pakṣadhara*, Śaṅkara Miśra had few equals in Mithilā since the days of

Gaṅgeśa. His influence and popularity were immense, and, though he was primarily no more than a commentary-writer, his services in the cause of the philosophy to which he owned allegiance were assuredly very great.

Regarding his personal history only a few fragments can be gathered. It is believed that he was born in the village of Sariśaba, not far from Darbhanga, where the goddess Siddheśvarī enshrined by him is still in existence.²¹² He is said to have been a precocious child and anecdotes illustrating his possession of wonderful gifts are still widely current.²¹³ The names of his parents appear as Bhavanātha and Bhavānī to whom he never fails to pay homage.²¹⁴ If we can place any reliance on Śaṅkara's personal testimony it must be owned that Bhavanātha had been a man of great erudition; in almost all his works Śaṅkara acknowledges his deep indebtedness for his interpretation of the texts, especially in their knotty points, to the instructions received from his father.²¹⁵ It would seem from words used by Śaṅkara himself that he was taught by Bhavanātha formally who in his turn had been the pupil of his own elder brother Jīvanātha.²¹⁶

That Śaṅkara was a devoted Śaiva is proved by his benedictory verses²¹⁷ and by his describing as *Bhavārcana-nirataḥ*.²¹⁸ He was a voluminous writer, being the author of the following philosophical treatises :—

A. Commentaries on

(a) Kaṇāda's

- i. *Vaiśeṣika Sūtras* (Upaskāra). Śaṅkara's introductory verse No. 3 seems to imply that in

interpreting the construction of the Sūtras he had no predecessors for his guidance or support. It was, he says, like the hazardous enterprise of a daring acrobat (*khela*) who attempts at walking in the mid-air on the nominal support of a piece of thread :

“सूत्रमात्रावलम्बनेन निरालम्बेऽपि गच्छतः ।
खे खेलवन्ममाप्यत्र साहसं सिद्धिमेष्यति”॥

Here the words *sūtramātrāvalambena* and *nirālambe* would seem to suggest that in Śaṅkara's time no direct gloss on the Sūtras was extant.

Now, if this suggestion were true what are we to say of the *Vṛtti* to which Śaṅkara himself makes such constant references ?²¹⁹ Possibly to maintain his consistency we shall have to fall back on the only other alternative that the *Vṛtti* from which he quotes had not been, like the *Bhāṣya* itself, an immediate interpretation of the Sūtras.

The following authorities are referred to in the Upaskāra :

- { प्रशस्तदेवाचार्याः —1.1.8; 4.1.2; 8.2.3; 9.2.8
- { प्रशस्तदेवपादाः —9.2.6
- { प्रशस्ताचार्याः —9.2.13; 10.1.1
- { प्रशस्तदेवाः —9.1.10
- { वृत्तिकार—1.2.3; 6.1.12.; 9.2.8
- { वृत्तिकृत—1.1.2; 1.2.6; 4.1.7; 7.1.3; 9.2.13; 10.1.3
- { उद्योतकराचार्याः —1.2.5
- { न्यायवार्त्तिक—9.1.1
- कीर्त्ति (धर्मकीर्त्ति)—8.1.2
- दिङ्नाग—8.1.2
- भूषण—7.2.1
- तौतातिकाः —7.2.20

पदार्थप्रदेशः (1?)—9.2.6

श्रीधराचार्याः—7.2.8

उदयनाचार्याः—7.2.8

वल्लभाचार्याः—4.1.10

The Upaskāra appears to have been composed at Benares.²²⁹

(b) Praśastapāda's

i. Padārtha-dharma-saṅgraha (Kaṇāda-rahasyam), referred to in the Upaskāra (7.1.6).

It reads more like an independent treatise than a commentary, and, had it not been for the intimation by the author himself that it is a Vyākhyā,²²¹ it would never have been possible to class it under commentaries. No *pratikas* from the original are given for the guidance of the reader and usually the order of the Bhāṣya, too, is not followed.

(c) Udayana's

i. Ātmatattvaviveka (Ātmatattvaviveka-kalpalatā).

ii. Nyāya-kusumāñjali (Āmoda).²²² In the third introductory verse of this book the author refers to three previous commentaries, viz., Mākaranda, Prakāśa and Parimala.²²³

iii. Trisūtrīnibandha (Trisūtrīnibandha-vyākhyā).

Śaṅkara mentions here²²⁴ the existence of three excellent commentaries on Udayana's *Nibandha*, viz., Prakāśa, Darpaṇa and Uddyota and adds that his own attempt is rather to bring out the plain meaning of the text. Thus we have :

“प्रकाशदर्पणोद्घो (not *mrat* as in the Notices)

कृद्भिर्व्याख्या कृतोज्ज्वला ।

तथापि योजनामात्रमुद्दिश्यास्यं समोद्यमः²²⁵ ॥

It is clear that the three commentaries named in the above *śloka* were all on Udayana's Tri-sūtrīnibandha—the work on which Śaṅkara just proposes to comment. Of them Prakāśa is undoubtedly the Nyāya-nibandha-prakāśa of Vardhamāna ; but, the remaining two are unknown. The identifications which Mr. Chakravarti²²⁶ suggests for these commentaries will never hold : (a) The Prakāśa can in no wise be supposed to be the work of Rucidatta, (i) because Rucidatta was a later writer (La. Sanh. 386 = 1505 A. D.) than Śaṅkara Miśra and (ii) because he is not known to have written any Commentary on the Nyāya-nibandha. His Prakāśa is a Commentary on Gaṅgeśa's Tattvacintāmaṇi, and, not on the Nyāya-nibandha to which Śaṅkara alludes. (b-c) Similarly, the Darpaṇa and the Uddyota could not have been the respective works of Maheśa Ṭhakkura and Vāhinīpati for the double reason (i) that they are not commentaries on the Nibandha (but on Pakṣadhara's Āloka) and (ii) that both Maheśa (1548 A. D.) and Vāhinīpati (later than the date of Vāsudeva Sārvabhauma) were Śaṅkara Miśra's successors and not predecessors.

(d) Śrīharṣa's

- i. Khaṇḍana-khaṇḍa-khāḍya (Ānandavardhana). A Ms. of this work (fols. 1-118) on palm-leaf and in early Bengali script, exists in the private library of a gentleman at Benares. It bears the date in Lakṣmaṇa Era 423, i.e., 1542 A.D. The Colophon runs thus :

“इति महामहोमिश्रीशङ्करकृतप्रथमखण्ड खण्डखाद्यानन्द-
वर्धनं समाप्तमिति । हरनेत्रपक्षवेदैर्लक्ष्मणसम्भते । शिवार्-
चनिरतः स्वार्थं श्रीमान् यधरोऽलिखत् ।

(e) Vallabhācārya's

i. Nyāyalilāvati (Nyāya-lilāvati-kaṇṭhābharāṇam)

(f) Gaṅgeśa's

i. Tattvacintāmaṇi (Cintāmaṇi-mayūkha). It is referred to in the Upaskāra (3.1.14, 17 ; 3.2.18 ; 7.2.20,26) and the Vādivinoda, p. 59.

B. (a) Vādivinoda, an original treatise on the Science of Dialectics, referred to in the Upaskāra (9.2.2.).

(b) Bhedaratna-prakāśa.²²⁷ The main object of this book was to reclaim the Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika dualism from the attacks of Vedānta. And, as this could not possibly be accomplished without in the first instance overthrowing the position already gained by Śrīharṣa in the schools, the work turns out practically to be a refutation of Khaṇḍana-khaṇḍa-khādyā itself. Though Śaṅkara, by commenting on the Khaṇḍana, appears to have been in sympathy with Vedānta, his real attitude towards it was always hostile.

Śaṅkara's time may be thus calculated. There is a Ms. of his Commentary on the Khaṇḍana-khaṇḍa-khādyā in the Government Sanskrit Library, Benares, which bears Saṃvat 1529 (=1472 A.D.) as the date of its transcription. Hall saw²²⁸ a copy of Bhedaprakāśa dated 1519 of the Vikrama Era (=1462 A.D.).²²⁹ This supplies the lower limit of Śaṅkara's age. The other limit, however, may be taken to be the time of Vardha-

māna Upādhyāya whose Commentary on the Kusumāñjali is referred to in Śaṅkara's own Commentary, Āmoda. Thus, it is highly probable, as Mr. Chakravarti holds, that Śaṅkara flourished about the second quarter of the 15th century.²³⁰ And, this date of Śaṅkara would be in full agreement with the tradition that he was a contemporary of Vācaspati Miśra II and Pakṣadhara Miśra.²³¹

XII. VĀCASPATI MIŚRA II

Śaṅkara Miśra's younger contemporary was Vācaspati Miśra II. Vardhamāna in his introduction to Daṇḍaviveka calls himself the pupil of these two scholars²³², and, according to tradition also Śaṅkara, Vācaspati and Pakṣadhara were all contemporaries.²³³

Vācaspati was the Court Paṇḍita of Rājā Bhaīravendra *alias* Harinārāyaṇa Deva and his son Rūpanārāyaṇa *alias* Rāmabhadra Deva of Mithilā, and lived about the middle of the 15th century.²³⁴

He wrote mainly on Hindu Law, but, he was also a good Naiyāyika. The following philosophical works attributed to him display closeness of reasoning and great original powers :

A. Commentaries on

(a) Gautama's

i. Nyāya Sūtras (= Nyāya-tattvāloka)

and

(b) Gaṅgeśa's

i. Tattvacintāmaṇi.

- B. (a) Nyāya-sūtroddhāra : This booklet was intended to determine the number and true readings of the genuine *sūtrās* as distinguished from those which have been interpolated into the text from time to time. This work is, therefore, in its object, of a similar nature with its predecessor, the Nyāya-sūcī-nibandha of Vācaspati Miśra I. Its principal interest, however, consists in the fact that it represents the Maithila recension of the *Sūtrapāṭha*.
- (b) Khaṇḍanoddhāra : This is a rejoinder to the objections brought forward by Śrīharṣa in his famous polemical treatise against the dualistic hypotheses of the Nyāya and Vaiśeṣika schools of thought. Though certainly the work does not rise up to the high level of Śrīharṣa's masterpiece, it is nevertheless an interesting study, as showing how cleverly the Naiyāyika brushes aside the charges of his opponents.

We have seen above that Śaṅkara Miśra, too, was a firm dualist and that his Bhedaratna-prakāśa was an attempt on the part of an advocate of realism made in defence of his realistic convictions. It was Śaṅkara's no less than Vācaspati's religious instinct which impelled them to employ their pen against the authority of Śrīharṣa's masterly treatise. The controversy on the Vedānta side was resumed at a later date by Madhusūdana Sarasvatī whose Advaita-ratna-rakṣā is a scholarly reply to Śaṅkara's Bhedaratna. But, Vācaspati's Khaṇḍanoddhāra seems to have been left neglected by the Vedāntists.

XIII. MADHUSŪDANA ṬHAKKURA

It has been observed that the *Tattvacintāmaṇi* and more especially its Commentary, the *Āloka*, by Pakṣadhara, were very seriously attacked on their first appearance, and, that in consequence of this it became the fashion of the commentators to take upon themselves, in addition to the usual work of interpretation, the further task of defending the text. Madhusūdana's claim to distinction, like that of his predecessor Vāsudeva Miśra, rests on the successful accomplishment of a self-imposed task of a similar kind. In fact, his commentaries are all of the nature of defence.

Madhusūdana was a Maithila Brāhmaṇa. His age is still undetermined; but, I feel strongly inclined to place him in the last quarter of the 15th century or in the first of the 16th. Having commented on Vācaspati II's *Dvaita-nirṇaya*,²³⁵ he must have been later than the middle of the 15th century. But, Mr. Chakravarti's surmise that he lived in the third quarter of the 16th century²³⁶ is hardly tenable. His conclusion is apparently based upon the evidence of a Ms. of *Kaṇṭakoddhāra* transcribed in La. Saṃvat 491, but, this is of no weight as against the positive testimony of another Ms. of the same work copied 32 years earlier in La Saṃvat 459 or 1578 A. D.²³⁷

His Nyāya works are commentaries on

(a) Gaṅgeśa's

- i. *Tattvacintāmaṇi* (*Tattvacintāmaṇi-kaṇṭakoddhāra*). This is known through Burnell's entry only²³⁸, but, is otherwise unknown. It

is possible that on examination it will prove to be a commentary on the Āloka.

and

(b) Pakṣadhara's

- i. Tattvacintāmanyāloka (Kaṇṭakoddhāra or Pakṣadharoddhāra.²³⁹) This is really his main work, in which he describes himself as a master of Mīmāṃsā and Nyāya (Mīmāṃsā-nyāya-pāraṇa.)²⁴⁰

It is probably to this work that Viśveśvara Sūri refers in his Vyākaraṇa-siddhānta-sudhānidhi.²⁴¹ The *Śabda-khaṇḍa* of his Commentary, of which a Ms. in two sub-sections (marked here as A and B) exists in the Government Sanskrit Library, Benares, is found to contain the following references :

Section A :—

- { वर्धमानवचन—fol. 2a⁴
- { वर्धमानोपाध्यायवचन ...—fol. 59a²
- अनुमानकण्टकोद्धार (his own)—fol. 3a³
- प्राभाकराः - fol. 28b⁴
- अर्वाचीनाः—fol. 34b¹
- प्राचीनाः - fol. 34b³
- श्रीकरमत—fol. 39a³
- किरणावली (कालग्रन्थ)—fol. 42b⁵
- नव्याः—fols. 45b³ , 60b¹
- महार्णववत्सेश्वरी— fol. 46b¹¹
- दुर्गटोका—fol. 58a¹
- महार्णव—fols. 58b¹¹ , 59a³
- हरदत्त—fol. 60b³. The following verses are quoted from Haradatta :

उक्तं च हरदत्तेन—

“अनिदं प्रथमाः शब्दाः साधवः परिकीर्त्तिताः ।
त एव शक्तिर्वकल्यप्रसादालसतादिभिः ॥
अन्यथा विवृताः पुंभिरपशब्दा उदीरिताः ।
स्मारयन्तश्च ते साधूनर्थधीहेतवः स्मृताः” ॥

Section B:—

कुसुमाञ्जलि—fol. 8b⁸

नव्याः—fol. 38a³

उपाध्यायाः—fols. 38a¹⁰ , 48a¹⁰ b¹

XIV. DEVANĀTHA THAKKURA

Devanātha is known to have written a supplement (*Parīṣiṣṭa*) to Pakṣadhara's Āloka (including notes on the original text of Gaṅgeśa). He was a Śaiva ²⁴² and probably a pupil of Govinda. ²⁴³ A Ms. of this work, as noticed by Mm. Haraprasāda Śāstrī, ²⁴⁴ was transcribed by one Rāghava at the instruction of the author himself and bears the date in La.Saṁvat 443 or 1562 A. D. ²⁴⁵ Thus, Devanātha's time falls in the middle of the 16th century.

XV. GOPINĀTHA THAKKURA

He was the son of the Maithila Thakkura Mahāmahopādhyāya Bhavanātha of the Goghota family, and a Vaiṣṇava of the Vṛndāvana school of faith. He is known to have written only two works on Nyāya, viz.,

A. A Commentary on

(a) Keśava Miśra's

i. Tarkabhāṣā (Tarkabhāṣā-bhāva-prakāśikā),
in which he quotes or alludes to the
views of :

मणिकृत—fols. 7b¹¹, 20a¹⁰, 22b¹², 23a⁸

पक्षधरमिश्राः—fols. 7b¹⁸, 23a^{1, 12}

रत्नकोशकारः—fol. 23b⁴

मिश्राः—fol. 23b⁷

उपाध्यायाः²⁴⁶—fol. 23a¹⁰

and B.

(a) Cintāmaṇi-sāra or simply Maṇisāra.²⁴⁷

It contains an abstract of the exposition of the fundamental concepts of Cintāmaṇi and may be held to be either a synoptic Commentary on the text or an independent work on the basis of it. Aufrecht is wrong in attributing it to Gopīnātha Miśra²⁴⁸, for the author of the Commentary on Tarkabhāṣā himself affirms that Maṇisāra is his own composition :

‘इति प्रतिपादितं (प्रपञ्चितं) मणिसारे’.²⁴⁹

Gopīnātha's time is later than Gaurikānta who refers to him in his Bhāvārtha-dīpikā. He may have lived, therefore, in the 16th century.

B. THE SCHOOL OF BENGAL

We have given above a brief account of Pakṣadhara and his immediate successors in Mithilā. But, it was Vāsudeva, possibly also Pakṣadhara's pupil, to whom we are indebted for much of the greatness and glory in the Nyāya philosophy of Bengal. Though Vāsudeva may not have been, as I am inclined to think he was not, the earliest exponent of Nyāya in Eastern India (for in addition to Śrīdhara of whom notice has already been taken other writers may have flourished whose works are now lost), yet, the fact must be admitted that he was one of its most powerful champions, and, that except for his fostering care this philosophy could not have lived to develop into its present state of perfection. But, before proceeding to describe him in detail, it would be well to cast a rapid glance at his father.

I. MAHEŚVARA VIŚĀRADA

His father, popularly known by his title Viśārada, was a Brāhmaṇa of the Rārhi class, born in a noble family at Vidyānagara in the city of Navadvīpa. He was a scholar of the old type teaching only Law and Grammar in his *tol*, and, also perhaps Navya-nyāya which had just come into vogue. From the testimony of Vāsudeva at the end of Sārvabhauma's Commentary on Advaita-makaranda, it may be surmised that he was also a master in the Vedāntic lore. Very little is practically known about his life.

and works. He had two names, both preserved for us in authentic records, viz., Maheśvara and Nara-hari, of which the former often appears in the Vaiṣṇava literature,²⁵⁰ while the latter is mentioned only once by his son in the Commentary on Advaita-makaranda.²⁵¹ It cannot now be ascertained whether Viśārada was an author, but, I believe that Manuscript No. 240, a commentary on Tattvacintāmaṇi (1st section), deposited in the Government Sanskrit Library, Benares, and, labelled as Pratyakṣa-maṇi-māheśvarī was his production. This is avowedly a mere conjecture, with no claim to the stability of an established thesis, but, the following considerations, weighed together, would seem to bear this sufficiently out :

(1) Firstly, there are not many scholars named Maheśvara in the history of mediaeval Sanskrit literature possessed of the necessary intellectual equipments. This proposed identification failing, we shall have to fall back on the only other alternative open to us, viz., in favour of the author of the Commentary on Kāvya-prakāśa, called Ādarśa or Bhāvārthacintāmaṇi.²⁵² But, that would be hardly probable, for the reasons stated below.

(2) Vāsudeva, his brother Vidyāvācaspati, his son Vāhinīpati, all devoted their time, attention and energies to writing commentaries on Cintāmaṇi and Āloka with the object of immediately popularising this useful treatise and ultimately of ousting the glory of the rival School of Mithilā. Thus, when the whole family of Vāsudeva is found interesting themselves in studies of Cintāmaṇi it would be unreasonable,

unless very cogent grounds exist on the contrary, to suppose Maheśvara to be an exception.

(3) And further, curiously enough, all the above works of the Sārvabhauma family are found only in the Government Sanskrit Library, Benares; and, so is the case with the Commentary under notice.

Certainly the fact is not without its meaning. By way of an explanatory suggestion I may add here that the works originally belonged to the private Library of Maheśvara Viśārada himself who in his latter days had been staying at Benares²⁵³ and that when they passed out of his family, under circumstances of which we are not aware, they went together (perhaps with other works), were transcribed (e. g. Vāhinīpati's Commentary, dated 1584 A. D.) and have again come together from their last depository. Maheśvara refers to the view of Pragalbha Miśra on fol. 28b¹¹ of his Commentary.

II. VĀSUDEVA SĀRVABHAUMA

Vāsudeva was the son of this Viśārada. Tradition affirms that on the completion of his study of *Smṛti* with his father at home he set out for Mithilā to get up the niceties of Nyāya Dialectics from the home of this learning. He read there for several years with Pakṣadhara Miśra, among many other books, the standard work of the school, viz., *Tattvacintāmaṇi*, and, committed the whole of it to memory. It is said that while returning he was subjected by his tutor to a most severe form of ordeal, the so-called "pin-ordeal" or "*Śalākā-Parīkṣā*"²⁵⁴ as it is known in Mithilā through which he passed with great credit. As a result of his conspicuous success

in this examination the title of Sārvabhauma was conferred upon him. From there Vāsudeva passed on to Benares where he took his lessons in Vedānta, probably with some local *Sanyāsin*, and, thence returned to Navadvīpa and set up a *tol* of his own. This was the first school of Nyāya in Bengal.

Among the great teachers of Navadvīpa none was so fortunate as Vāsudeva in gaining such an illustrious batch of students. The great religious reformer Śrī Caitanya Deva to whose name thousands of hearts respond with fervour, love and adoration, the great Raghunātha, whose Dīdhiti has been a perennial fount of inspiration to all lovers of philosophy, the great Raghunandana whose famous *Śmṛti* compilation (Aṣṭavimśati-tattva) still governs the course of orthodox life in Bengal, and, last but not least the great Kṛṣṇānanda Āgamavāgiśa, who revived the decadent Tāntric literature by his famous compilation Tantrasāra, were among his pupils. Perhaps Haṛidāsa, too, the commentator on Kuṣumāñjali was one of the number.

Of his Nyāya works, of which the number is not known, only one seems to have come down to us. It is a Commentary on Tattvacintāmaṇi entitled Sārāvalī²⁵⁵ in which references to the following authorities are found :

यज्ञपति—fols. 45b⁵, 47a⁸, 47b³, 93b⁸, 133b⁸,
111a⁵, 170a²

वर्धमान—fols. 45b⁹, 133b⁵ (Līlāvati-prakāśa)

नरसिंह—fol. 53a⁵

आचार्यसम्मति—fol. 53b⁷

आचार्यमतं—fol. 161a⁶

प्रत्यक्षमणिपरीक्षा—fol. 154a³

शब्दमणिपरीक्षा—fol. 168a⁸⁻⁹ (अधिकस्तु शब्दमणिपरीक्षाया-
मनलसधियां सुलभः)

I assume this book was composed by Vāsudeva during his life at Navadvīpa in the course of his tutorial lectures before his classes. There are two grounds for this assumption :

(1) On this assumption alone can be found, at least a provisional, explanation of the otherwise unintelligible fact of the presence of the work at Benares only. For the explanation consists in the suggestion already hinted that the book might have come up to Benares in company with Viśārada. But, if it were composed elsewhere (than at Nadiā) its removal to Benares would remain an insoluble mystery.

(2) As far as we are acquainted with Vāsudeva's life we can take it that he left off Nyāya studies with his departure from his home in Bengal. At Purī he was mostly occupied with Vedāntic speculations and was distinguished as an eminent Vedāntic Scholar, to whom *Danṣins* and *Sanyāsins* approached for instruction. Even if he continued teaching Nyāya there, as the author of *Amiya Nimāi Carita*²⁵⁶ asserts, it was only a diversion. His favourite pursuit, till his interview with Caitanya, was undoubtedly Vedānta.

In his old age Vāsudeva retired to Purī, the holy city of Jagannātha, where he enjoyed as long as he lived the patronage of the Gajapati King Pratāparudra Deva of Orissa.²⁵⁷ He became the chief *Paṇḍita* of Pratāparudra's Court and the Superintendent of Jagannātha's temple, and, his cyclopaedic learning in various branches of Sanskrit Literature caused him to be a universal referee in Orissa, especially on points of law, ritual, philosophy and religion.²⁵⁸

About his retirement from Bengal Jayānanda in his Caitanya Maṅgala records the tradition that it was in consequence of avgeneral panic in Navadvīpa caused by the rumour of an order from the Mahomedan ruler of the province for a wholesale devastation of the Brāhmaṇa families of the place. It is said that this order for devastation had its origin in the alarm excited by a widely current prophecy about the overthrow of the Moslem power by the Brāhmaṇa inhabitants of Navadvīpa. However, on account of the panic Vāsudeva's family left Nādiā²⁵⁰ and migrated to different parts of the country. Thus, we read—

“विशारद सुत सार्वभौम भट्टाचार्य ।
स्वयं उत्कले गेल छाडि गौड राज्य ॥
उत्कले प्रतापरुद्र धनुर्मय राजा ।
रत्नसिंहासने सार्वभौमे कैल पूजा ॥
तार भ्राता विद्यावाचस्पति गौडवासी ।
विशारद निवास करिला वाराणसी” ॥

“Vāsudeva Sārvabhauma, son of Viśārada, removed to Orissa, leaving Bengal. The King of Orissa was then the illustrious Pratāparudra, famous for his valour in war. He worshipped the great scholar of Navadvīpa, presenting him with a golden throne. The brother of Sārvabhauma was Vidyāvācaspati, who remained in Gauḍa and their father Viśārada proceeded to Benares, where he settled.”²⁶⁰

Though the picture here drawn might be a bit highly coloured, the fact remains that the Mahomedan oppression was growing daily heavier; and, Vāsudeva retired from the country probably to escape from the whims of an oppressive governor. But, it is also possible, that Rājā Pratāparudra Deva, the

great friend of learning and centre of Hindu culture in Orissa, had actually invited him, with the assurance of a peaceful life (a great temptation in those troubled days !), to settle at his Court.

On his arrival at Purī his pen seems to have been at work on Vedānta. There exists in the Śaṅkara Maṭha, Purī, a Ms. (copied in Śaka 1551 = 1629 A. D.)²⁶¹ of a Commentary by him on Lakṣmīdhara's Advaita-makaranda where in the Colophon the author calls himself 'गौडाचार्य सार्वभौमभट्टाचार्य' (cf. also verse 2 at the beginning and verse 1 at the end).²⁶²

In 1510 A. D. Vāsudeva came in touch with Śrī Caitanya Deva (born 1485 A. D.), the great Vaiṣṇava apostle of Bengal, and, was so much taken by his exalted personality that he felt no scruple in renouncing his cherished convictions. The influence of this prophet of Love fell almost as a magic spell on his life, and, the story of his conversion, told at great length in all works of Vaiṣṇava Literature,²⁶³ a story illustrating the triumph of Faith over Reason, is fraught with an abiding interest for those who are engaged in a special study of the psychology of religious conversions. From a dry philosopher, a rationalist to the core, Vāsudeva came to be a firm adherent of the doctrine of Faith. He became an exponent of *Līlāvāda* and began to worship Caitanya as an incarnation of the Divine Principle of Love and Redeeming Grace.²⁶⁴

The following words of Vāsudeva's confession before Caitanya will show that his conversion was not merely an intellectual assent to a creed, but, an out

and out regeneration of the soul. His attitude towards his young master will also be evident from these words :

“जगत् तारिले प्रभु सेह अल्पकार्य ।

आमा उद्धारिले तुमि ए शक्ति आश्चर्य ॥

तर्कशास्त्रे जड़ आमि यैछे लौहपिण्ड ।

आमा द्रवाइले तुमि प्रताप प्रचण्ड” ॥²⁶⁵

Henceforward, Vāsudeva was a Vaiṣṇava of the truest type. He was no longer a philosopher moving in the circle of dead reasoning. All his writings breathe of the sweet spirit of meekness and resignation, and, display a luxuriant delight in simplicity and ease. He composed a number of *ślotras* in praise of the three brother-prophets of Bengal—

(1) Caitanya, (2) Nityānanda and (3) Advaita.

(1) (a) गौराङ्गशतनाम²⁶⁶ ? = चैतन्यशतक²⁶⁷

(b) चैतन्यद्वादशनामस्तोत्र

(2) नित्यानन्दनामाष्टोत्तरशत

(3) अद्वैताष्टक²⁶⁸

Jayānanda, in the first section of his Caitanya Maṅgala, attributes a biography of Caitanya, named Caitanya-caritra to authorship of Sārvabhauma Bhaṭṭācārya,²⁶⁹ but, nothing further is known about this book. In the family Library of Paṇḍita Dāmodarālāla Gosvāmī I inspected a Ms. of Tattvadīpikā, a short Vaiṣṇava treatise of great interest, attributed to one Sārvabhauma Bhaṭṭācārya, and, I am disposed to think that this is another work of Vāsudeva.

III. RATNĀKARA

Ratnākara Vidyāvācaspati, Vāsudeva's younger brother, was left alone at Navadvīpa in those troubled times. He stayed at home, teaching pupils in his family *tol* of Vidyānagara. Like his father and elder brother he was a good Naiyāyika. His Commentary on Tattvacintāmaṇi and Āloka (combined) exists in the Government Sanskrit Library, Benares.²⁷⁰ From the Colophon of Bhramarādūta, a lyrical poem by his grandson, Rudra Nyāyavācaspati, Vidyāvācaspati appears to have been the Court Paṇḍita of the King of Gauḍa.²⁷¹ He became a devoted follower of Śrī Caitanya's School and his name is mentioned with honour in Vaiṣṇava literature.²⁷² Caitanya is said to have lived in seclusion for some time in his house.

IV. VĀHINIPATI

Vāsudeva's son Janēśvara Vāhinīpati Mahāpātra was also a student of Nyāya; and his Commentary on Āloka (*Śabda-khaṇḍa*), called Uddyota, is to be found in the Library of the Government Sanskrit College, Benares. As already stated the work is known to exist only in this Library; but, since the Ms. here bears (on fol. 52a) Sāhvat 1642 (1585 A. D.) as the year of its transcription,²⁷³ the copy was certainly of a much later date than the time of the author. And, I consider it probable that earlier copies of the work are still extant.²⁷⁴

The Manuscript, at any rate the section of which we are in possession here, does not make it clear how Vāhinīpati was related to Śrīvabhauma or what his real name was. But, tradition in Bengal has it that (a) his

name was Janeśvara and that (b) he was Sārvabhauma's son. And, this tradition may not be altogether baseless.

(a) That his name was Janeśvara would seem likely. In Caitanya Candrodaya (Act VI) we find Candaneśvara to be the name of one of Sārvabhauma's sons. The name Janeśvara is very similar both ending in the form 'īśvara'; and, though this similarity in itself is not of great importance in determining a point of historical character, it has doubtless a corroborative value. Brothers are generally named alike.

(b) His homage to Vāsudeva Sārvabhauma in the beginning of his Commentary indicates plainly that he was his pupil; but, there is nothing to stand against the suggestion that he was also his son. On the other hand, his constant references to *Pitrcāranāh*, as on fols. 3a⁸⁻⁹, 4a⁵⁻⁶, etc. and expressions like 'इत्यस्माकं पैतृकः पन्थाः' must be understood as allusive to Sārvabhauma. Evidently we are here in the pre-Dīdhitian age and who among the Bengalis of that day could be described as the leader of a school of Nyāya thought (implied in the word *panthāh*), except the great Sārvabhauma himself?

(c) The title Vāhinipati Mahāpātra was an honour of distinction in Orissa (cf. the name Tapana Mahāpātra). But, this does not militate against his Bengali descent. It shows simply that he was holding an eminent position in Orissa and that the honour was conferred upon him by the local King, probably Rāja Pratāparudra himself, in recognition of his merits. However, the Colophon of the Manuscript under review, in prefixing the word *Bhaṭṭācārya* to his name, clears up the whole question and supplies positive evidence in favour of his Bengali parentage.²⁷⁵

V. HARIDĀSA NYĀYĀLĀNKĀRA BHATṬĀCĀRYA

Of all the commentaries on the *Kārikā* portion of the *Kusumāñjali* the one by Haridāsa, a man of Nadiī, has undoubtedly gained the widest currency in Bengal. And, it is as the author of this popular annotation of the *Kārikās*, rather than for any other works, that he is remembered by the modern Paṇḍitas of Bengal and Mithilā.

If the tradition²⁷⁶ recorded by Mm. Candra Kānta Tarkīlāṅkāra in the Preface²⁷⁷ to his Commentary on *Kusumāñjali-Haridāsa* (Śaka 1810) regarding Haridāsa's journey to Mithilā for the study of Nyāya Śāstra and his return home with the whole of the *Kusumāñjali* (including the prose portion also) in his memory be authentic, the event certainly marks an episode of supreme historical interest in the study of philosophy in Bengal. For it inaugurated studies and speculations and inspired literary activities which have continued into the present day.

To what time Haridāsa should be assigned is a question to which no final answer can be given at present. It is sure that he was earlier than Śaka 1521 or 1599 A. D. when a Ms. of his Commentary on the *Āloka* was transcribed, and, the earlier limit of his age is the date of *Āloka* itself. I am disposed, however, to take him as a pupil of Vasudeva Sārvabhauma.

Among his contributions to the philosophical literature of the country the following are known :

A. Commentaries on

(a) Udayanīcārya's

i. *Kusumāñjali Kārikās*;

(b) Gaṅgeśa's

i. Tattvacintāmaṇi (= Prakīśa);²⁷⁹

and

(c) Pakṣadhara's

i. Tattvacintāmaṇyāloka.²⁷⁵

VI. JĀNAKĪNĀTHA BHATṬĀCĀRYA CŪDĀMAṆI

Another writer who has had a large number of commentators and wielded great influence on contemporary thought was Jinakīnātha, more popularly known as 'Bhaṭṭācārya Cūḍāmaṇi'. His most famous work was Nyāya-siddhānta-mañjarī in which he quotes Śivāditya,²⁸⁰ Cintāmaṇikṛt,²⁸¹ Nyāyabhāṣakakṛt,²⁸² and Muralī Miśra²⁸³ and mentions by name his two earlier treatises, viz., (a) Maṇi-maṇi-nibandha,²⁸⁴ probably a commentary on Tattvacintāmaṇi and (b) Tītparyadīpaka.²⁸⁵

VII. RAGHUNĀTHA ŚĪROMAṆI

After Vāsudeva the philosopher that calls for special notice here is the great Raghunātha, variously styled Śīromaṇi, Tīkika Śīromaṇi or Tārīka Cūḍāmaṇi. He was the greatest figure in Nadiā and next to Gaṅgeśa, the greatest in the field. His studies ranged over a wide area and his philosophical speculations were as deep as they were varied.

The story of Raghunātha's life is not known in detail. He was born in a very humble Brāhmaṇa family of Pañcakhanda in Sylhet (Assam), where his ancestor Śrīdhara Ācārya had migrated from Mithilā in 53 Tripurā Era (= 643 A.D.) and settled. On the death of his father, Govinda Cākravartī, at an early age the family was

thrown into hopeless confusion. There was no earning hand in the house. The burden of expenses fell on Raghunātha's mother, Sītā Devī, but, how long could the poor widow manage it? She soon found herself in great straits. It is said that at this time a batch of pi'grims from her village was setting out on a holy trip to Navadvīpa for a dip in the Ganges. Sītā Devī, with her infant son, felt inclined to accompany this party, which she did, but, before they could reach Nadiā Sītā fell seriously ill and was deserted by her companions. Upon recovery she resumed her journey and reached her destination in the company of a kind merchant of the place. At Nadiā Sītā took shelter with the great Vāsudeva Sārvabhauma who received Raghunātha into his favour and began to teach him with great care.

It is said that in his early life he had been a student of Vāsudeva, but, later on he went to Mithilā in order to study the knotty points of Nyāya Śāstra with Pakṣadhara whose reputation of scholarship attracted him. He is said to have been blind of an eye, and, so the tradition runs that when he stood in presence of Pakṣadhara, eager to sit at his feet and drink at that fount of learning of which he had heard so much talked, the latter, being struck by his odd look, questioned him thus :

“आखण्डलः सहस्राक्षः विरूपाक्षस्त्रिलोचनः ।
अन्ये द्विलोचनाः सर्वे को भवानेकलोचनः” ॥

At this query of Pakṣadhara, Raghunātha was much annoyed at heart, but, he was not to be daunted. He retorted readily :

“योऽन्धं करोत्यक्षिमन्तं यश्च बालं प्रबोधयेत् ।
तमेवाध्यापकं मन्ये तदन्ये नामधारिणः” ॥

“He who is capable of giving an eye (power of vision) to the eyeless is to be considered a real teacher, while the rest are mere names (‘तदन्वे नामधारिणः’).”

On his return from Mithilā, with the laurels yet fresh upon his head Raghunātha won a great name in the country. Students from various parts gathered round him and listened to his learned discourses.

He wrote in the course of his teacher's life a series of works including numerous commentaries and an original treatise, dealing with philosophy :

A. Commentaries on

(a) Udayana's

i. Ātmatattvaviveka (= Dīpikā or Bauddha-dhikkāra-vivṛti).²⁸⁶

and

ii. Nyāya-kusumāñjali;

(b) Śrīharṣa's

i. Khaṇḍana-khaṇḍa-khāḍya (= Dīdhiti)

(c) Vallabha's

i. Nyāyalīlāvatī. This is identical with (e) ii.

(d) Gaṅgeśa's

i. Tattvacintāmaṇi (= Dīdhiti) ;

and

(e) Vardhamāna's

i. Kīraṇāvalī-prakāśa (Dīdhiti or Vibhūti or Vivṛti),

and

ii. Nyāyalīlāvatī-prakāśa.

B. And an original tract, called

- (a) Padārtha-tattva-nirūpanam, variously called Padārtha-khaṇḍanam and Padārtha-tattva-vivecanam.

Among the above treatises the Commentary on Cintāmaṇi, known as Maṇi-didhiti, has been justly the most successful and popular. Since its publication this work has driven all the venerable old commentaries out of fashion, so much so that the very names of works like Āloka (by Pakṣadhara) and Prakāśa (by Rucidatta) are now well nigh forgotten. The whole host of later writers drew upon him for their inspiration.

Raghunātha was a bold, subtle and original thinker, and, it would seem from the words used in the Didhiti that he was a bit too highly conscious of his own powers. Compare :

“विदुषां निवहैर्यदैकमत्याद् यददुष्टं यच्च दुष्टम् ।
मयि जल्पति कल्पनाधिनाथे रघुनाथे मनुतां तदन्यथैव” ॥ 287

He declares that his Commentary on Cintāmaṇi embodied the essence of various Śāstras (‘सारं निर्णयि निखिलतन्त्राणां’) drawn out by study (*adhyayana*) and contemplation (*bhāvanā*).

Raghunātha had unquestionably a real gift for poetical expression rare among the logicians of the Middle Ages. The well-known verse—

“काव्येषु कोमलधियो वयमेव नान्ये
तर्केषु कर्कशधियो वयमेव नान्ये ।
तन्त्रेषु यन्त्रितधियो वयमेव नान्ये
कृष्णेषु संयतधियो वयमेव नान्ये” ॥

is attributed to him. His conversation with Pakṣadhara in his first interview amply bears out the vaunt made in the above verse about his claims to poetical excellence.

In regard to Raghunātha's personal convictions concerning the ultimate problems of Life and Spirit with which all philosophy has to deal it is hard to gather anything that would be really of much value. It is not known whether he fell under the spell of Caitanya's influence and accepted his creed. But, it seems probable that inspite of his recognised place among the few greatest Naiyāyikas of the country, he was a rebel at heart. The following verse prefixed as *Maṅgalācarana* to all his works—

“ओं नमः सर्वभूतानि विष्टभ्य परितिष्ठते ।

अखण्डानन्दबोधाय पूर्णाय परमात्मने” ॥

marks him out at once as one with a decided leaning towards Vedānta and this against all strained interpretations that have been thrust upon it by later writers.

VIII. MATHURĀNĀTHA TARKAVĀGĪŚA

It was Mathurānātha on whom fell the proud, but, heavy task of carrying forward his master's great work and keeping alive the traditional prestige of Navadvīpa. In learning as well as in the power of sustained exertion involved in a work of this kind Mathurānātha was certainly equal to the occasion. He made up his mind and set himself about the work in right earnest.

That Mathurānātha was Raghunātha's direct pupil appears from the evidence of his referring to

the latter as "Bhaṭṭācārya", the usual form of reference to one's own tutor. Tradition affirms that Mathurā-nātha's father Śrī Rāma also had been Raghunātha's pupil. But, it seems to me that Śrī Rāma had also been the pupil of Vāsudeva Sārva-bhauma.²⁸⁸

He composed the following works :

A. Commentaries on

(a) Udayana's

i. Ātmatattvaviveka

(b) Vallabha's

i. Nyāyalilāvatī

(c) Gaṅgeśa's

i. Tattvacintāmaṇi

(d) Vardhamāna's

i. Kiraṇāvalī-prakāśa

and

ii. Nyāyalilāvatī-prakāśa

(e) Pakṣadhara's

i. Tattvacintāmaṇyāloka

and

(f) Raghunātha's

i. Nyāyalilāvatī-prakāśa-dīdhiti

and

ii. Tattvacintāmaṇi-dīdhiti.

It is said that this was his earliest attempt at composition undertaken during his student-

ship with Raghunātha. His father being highly pleased with his powers thus shown encouraged him warmly and suggested that he should take in hand a commentary on Tattvacintāmaṇi and write it now in a simple style so as to be of easy comprehension.

and B. Siddhānta-rahasyam.

Mathurānātha was a Vaiṣṇava in his personal creed. His father Śrī Rāma Tarkālaṅkāra was a great Paṇḍita and seems to have been the author of a voluminous commentary on some work in *Nyāyasāstra*.²⁸⁹ Probably the commentary was on Cintāmaṇi and it is interesting to find the son controverting the views of the father. In the Government Sanskrit Library, Benares, there is a Ms. of Śrī Rāma's Commentary, called Ṭippanī, on Raghunātha's Ātmātattva-viveka-dīdhiti.

IX. BHAVĀNANDA SIDDHĀNTAVĀGIŚA

Bhavānanda was one of the ablest representatives of the Nadiā School of Thought, and, though his works have not enjoyed the same celebrity in Bengal as they have done in the South, it does not detract in the slightest degree from their merit. It is a strange fact of which no true historical explanation can yet be rendered that among the commentaries on Bhavānanda none has proceeded from Bengal. It seems that soon after its publication the book was subjected to a severe criticism in certain quarters,²⁹⁰ and that in consequence of this the study of the work was left altogether uncared for in the country of its birth.²⁹¹ Thanks are due, however, to Mahādeva Puntāmkar for reviving

an interest in the study of this valuable, but, much neglected work and for popularising it through his commentaries.

Bhavānanda left behind him two worthy pupils in Jagadīśa and Rāghavendra,²⁹² both of whom distinguished themselves as scholars and made valuable contributions to philosophy and literature.

The name of Bhavānanda's *Guru* is not known. Tradition makes Bhavānanda Mathurānātha's disciple, which on chronological grounds is admissible; but, may it not be that he was Raghunātha's direct pupil? The following extract taken from his Commentary on Anunānadīdhiti, where Raghunātha is referred to as "Bhaṭṭācārya" would seem to point to this conclusion :

“नीलविशिष्टधूमेऽपि विशेष्यत्वस्योपाधेः सत्त्वेन निरुपाधित्वसाधन-
व्यापकत्वादिति विशेष्यत्वपाठस्याप्राभाणिकत्वात् तदुपेक्षितं भट्टाचार्य-
शिरोमणिभिरिति” ।

I hold, therefore, pending further evidence to the contrary, that Bhavānanda was Raghunātha's junior pupil and that on the latter's death or probably on his retirement through the infirmities of age, when teaching was impossible, Bhavānanda completed his studies with Mathurānātha. And, this would be in keeping with Bhavānanda's own statement in his Commentary on the Dīdhiti :

“नमस्कृत्य गुरुन् सर्वान् निगूढं मणिदीधितौ ।
श्रीभवानन्दसिद्धान्तवागीशेन प्रकाश्यते” ॥

Here is a list of works written by Bhavānanda :

A. Commentaries on

(a) Gaṅgeśa's

i. Tattvacintāmaṇi

(b) Pakṣadhara's

i. Tattvacintāmaṇyāloka (= Ālokaśāra-maṇjari)

(c) Raghunātha's

i. Tattvacintāmaṇi-dīdhiti (= Dīdhiti-gūḍhārtha-prakāśikā)

B. (a) Śabdārtha-sāra-maṇjari

(b) Kāraṇakakram

(c) Daśalakāra-sāra-maṇjari

X. GUṆĀNANDA VIDYĀVĀGĪŚA BHATṬĀCĀRYA

Guṇānanda, better known as Vidyāvāgīśa Bhaṭṭācārya, was a pupil of Madhusūdana and wrote a large number of commentaries, viz., on —

(a) Udayana's

i. Nyāya-kusumāñjali-prakarṇa (= Nyāya-kusumāñjali-viveka).²⁹³

The work is called Tātparyā-viveka in the Ms. of the Government Sanskrit Library, Benares.

(b) Vardhamāna's

i. Guṇa-kiraṇāvalī-prakāśa (= Guṇa-vivṛti-viveka or Tātparyā-sandarbhā)

(c) Pakṣadhara's

i. Tattvacintāmaṇyāloka, *Śabda* section (= Śabdāloka-viveka)

and

(b) Raghunātha's

i. Anumāna-dīdhiti (= Anumāna-dīdhiti-viveka)

ii. Nyāya-līlavatī-prakāśa-dīdhiti (= Nyāya-līlavatī-prakāśa-dīdhiti-viveka)

iii. Ātmatattvaviveka-dīdhiti (= Ātmatattva-dīdhiti-viveka)

and

iv. Guṇakiraṇāvalī-prakāśa-dīdhiti. This work is identical with (b) i.

His time is unknown, but, it may be surmised that he lived about the end of the 16th century. This is proved by the fact that there exists in the India Office Library a Ms. of his Guṇa-vivṛti-viveka with 1534 Śaka (वेदवाणान्नियुते शकाब्दे) or 1612 A. D.²⁹⁴ as the date of its transcription. Besides, as his tutor cannot be identical with the famous author of the Advaitasiddhi, the time here proposed for him would not seem incompatible. The fact that he was criticised by the Jain Logician Yaśovijayagaṇi²⁹⁵ in the latter's Nyāya-khaṇḍana-khādyā presents no chronological difficulty.

XI. RĀMA RUDRA TARKAVĀGĪŚA

Rudra, to be distinguished from another and more famous Rudra surnamed Nyāya Vācaspati,²⁹⁶ was grandson of Bhavānanda Siddhāntavāgīśa on whose Kāraka-cakra he wrote a Commentary. In the Colophon he distinctly attributes this work to his grandfather (*Pitāmaha*).

Rudra wrote another Commentary on the Siddhānta-muktāvalī, where he calls his father (*Tāta*) Śrī Rāma (श्रीरामधीरेश). Madhusūdana may have been the name of his *Guru*.²⁹⁷

XII. RĀMABHADRA SĀRVABHAUMA

Very little is known about Rāmabhadra's parentage or personal history except that he was the *Guru* of the famous Jagadīśa Tarkālaṅkāra.²⁹⁸ In the introduction to many of his commentaries (e. g., on the *Padārtha-tattva-nirūpaṇa*) he calls himself the son of one Cūḍāmaṇi whom Hall identifies with the Tārkika-cūḍāmaṇi Raghunātha.²⁹⁹

He was the author of—

A. Commentaries on

(a) Gotama's

- i. *Nyāya Sūtras*. This commentary is of the nature of a gloss and is generally known by the name *Nyāya-rahasyam*. Copies of this work are very rare. I examined a complete Ms. of the work with Paṇḍita Mukunda Śāstrī of Benares, which has since been acquired for the Government Sanskrit Library, Benares.

(b) Udayana's

- i. *Kusumāñjali Kārikās*.³⁰⁰ This was once a very popular commentary and shared the reputation of Haridāsa's work in Bengal.
- ii. *Guṇa-kiraṇāvalī* (*Guṇarahasyam*)

(c) Raghunātha's

- i. *Padārtha-tattva-vivecana* (*Padārtha-tattva-vivecana-prakāśa*). In this work Rāmabhadra refers to the views of his father³⁰¹ and of his grandfather.³⁰²

and B. (a) Siddhānta-rahasyam. This work is little known, but, it is referred to in (c) i.³⁰³ and, therefore, preceded it.

(b) Siddhānta-sāra³⁰⁴
and

(c) Suvarṇa-taijasaṭva-vāda.³⁰⁵ In this work Rāmabhadra refers the current notion of the logicians regarding the igneous character of gold.

XIII. JAGADĪŚA TARKĀLANKĀRA

Among the disciples of Bhavānanda none was so eminent as the famous Jagadīśa who, with Mathurānātha and Gadādhara, forms the small band of post-Dīdhitian Logicians in Bengal. Jagadīśa is said to have been a descendant of Sanātana Miśra, the father-in-law of Caitanya Deva and lived probably in the second quarter of the 17th century.³⁰⁶

From Jagadīśa's statement in the Nyāyarahasya it appears that he was also the pupil of Rāmabhadra Sārvabhauma.

He was the third son of Yādava Candra Vidyāvāgīśa and had five brothers. He had two sons, i.e., Raghunātha, the author of Sāṅkhya-tattva-vilāsa, and Rudreśvara, the father of Rāmabhadra Siddhāntavāgīśa.

Jagadīśa was the author of—

A. Commentaries on

(a) Praśastapāda's

i. Padārtha-dharma-saṅgraha : (= °Sūkti). This extends to *Dravya* section only.

(b) Gaṅgeśa's

i. Tattvacintāmaṇi

(c) Raghunātha's

i. Nyāya-līlāvatī-dīdhiti

ii. Tattvacintāmaṇi-dīdhiti (= °prakāśikā).

This is popularly known as Jāgadīśi.

B. (a) Śabda-śakti-prakāśikā

(b) Tarkāmṛta.

XIV. RĀGHAVENDRA BHATṬĀCĀRYA ŚATAVADHĀNA

Next to Jāgadīśa the most remarkable person among Bhavānanda's disciples was Rāghavendra Bhaṭṭācārya. In the first chapter of Vidvanmoda-taraṅgiṇī, a work of unique interest by Cīrñjīva Bhaṭṭācārya, the author, who calls himself Rāghava's son, gives a short, but, interesting account of his own family. He claims descent from a native of Rādhāpura, who is said to have been a high authority on ceremonies relating to sacrifice; and, it is related that once by virtue of his extraordinary powers of sacrifice he was able to ensure the safety of the county of Gauḍa from what is naively described as the inroads of *Rākṣasas*. He belonged to *Kāśyapa gotra* and his descendants ranked in Gauḍa as the noblest in social scale. His descendant in the 8th remove was Kāśīnātha Sāmudrikācārya, a great palmist, physiognomist and fortune-teller.³⁰⁷ He had three sons, Rājendra, Rāghavendra and Maheśa.

Rāghavendra was certainly the most accomplished of the three brothers. He obtained the title of Bhaṭṭācārya

Śatāvadhāna while he was yet a boy of only 16 years of age. He read various *Śāstras* in the *ṭol* of Bhavānanda Siddhāntavāgīśa, and, became in course of time a past master in the Science of Dialectics and a great controversialist. Rāghavendra was a poet of extraordinary powers, and, his *Ślokaśatī* will ever remain a monument of his marvellous skill in this art. Cīrañjīva quotes the following tributary verses written by two different poets [in praise of Rāghavendra's wonderful gifts :

One poet says :

- (1) “अहं हरिहरः सिद्धेरविलम्ब सरस्वती ।
साक्षाच्छतावधानस्त्वमवतीर्णा सरस्वती ”॥

The other says :

- (2) “पुंरूपादरणी साक्षादवतीर्णा सरस्वती ।
जितः शतावधानतो विष्णुनापि न जिष्णुना”॥

All this goes to show that Rāghavendra was held in great esteem by his contemporaries. Bhavānanda was struck with his genius :—

“अधीयानमुद्दिश्य चाध्यापकोऽयं
भवानन्दसिद्धान्तवागीश ऊचे ।
अयं कोऽपि देवोऽनवद्यातिविद्या-
चमत्कारधारामपारां बिभर्ति”॥

Rāghavendra is credited with three works—none, however, on Nyāya—by his son, viz., *Ślokaśatī*, *Mantrārthadīpa* and *Rāmāprakāśa*.

XV. RĀMABHADRA SIDDHĀNTAVĀGĪŚA

Rāmabhadra Siddhāntavāgīśa, a resident of Navadvīpa, is said to have been the son of Rudreśvara and grandson of Jagadīśa. He was the pupil of his grandfather. Compare the verse 2 at the beginning of his

Commentary, called Prabodhinī³⁰⁸, the only work passing under his name on Jagadīśa's Śabda-śakti-prakāśikā :³⁰⁹

“गुरुमिव गुरुमिह नत्वा तत्कृतशब्दशक्तिप्रकाशिकायाम् ।
श्रीरामभद्रसुकृती कुरुते टीकां मुदे सुधियः”³¹⁰॥

XVI. GAURIKĀNTA SĀRVABHAUMA BHATTĀCĀRYA

Among the commentators of Tarkabhāṣā Gaurikānta's name occupies perhaps a unique position, both on account of the exhaustive treatment of the topics raised in the text as well as for its great bulk. His Commentary on Tarkabhāṣā is certainly his best production, and, perhaps the most thorough work of its kind existing in the literature.

As to his time it may be roughly fixed in this way :

In the work just mentioned Gaurikānta alludes very frequently to the views of Balabhadra and Govardhana and vehemently denounces them as erroneous.³¹¹ Govardhana's age has been ascertained to be the 16th century, which, therefore, furnishes the upper limit of Gaurikānta's life period; the other or lower limit, however, is afforded by the age of Mādhava Deva (i. e., the end of 17th century), who quotes and criticises the opinion of Gaurikānta in his own Tarkabhāṣā-sāra-mañjarī. Hence, it may be concluded with tolerable certainty that Gaurikānta lived in the early part of the 17th century.

Gaurikānta's works are :

A. Commentaries on

(a) Praśastapāda's Padārtha-dharma-saṅgraha.

This work, unknown to Aufrecht, I find men-

tioned under the title of *Vaiśeṣika-bhāṣya-vivaraṇa* in his *Bhāvārtha-dīpikā*.³¹²

(b) Keśava Miśra's

- i. *Tarkabhāṣā* (= *Bhāvārtha-dīpikā*). This work is also called *Vivaraṇa* in the Colophon of the chapter of the Government Sanskrit Library, Benares, Ms. 156 fol. 25 b.

Commenting on the nature of *anubhava* in his Commentary on the *Tarkabhāṣā* Gaurikānta quotes the following verse and says that it occurs in the text in some Mss :

“संविद् भगवतो देवी स्मृत्यनुभववेदिका ।
अनुभूतिः स्मृतेरन्या स्मृतिः संस्कारमात्रजा” ॥³¹³

(c) Raghunātha's

- i. *Tattvacintāmaṇi-dīdhiti*.

This work, too, is not mentioned in Aufrecht, but, is referred to as *Maṇi-dīdhiti-vivecana*³¹⁴ in connection with the discussion of *Pratyāsatti*.

(d) Annam Bhaṭṭa's

- i. *Tarkasaṅgraha*

B. (a) *Sadyukti-muktāvalī*

Gaurikānta's reference to *Sārvabhauma*³¹⁵ in conjunction with *Dīdhitikāra* must be understood as standing for the great *Vāsudeva Sārvabhauma*, and, not for *Rāmabhadra* or *Kṛṣṇadāsa*. It is not yet known whether *Gaurikānta* was a poet, but, he describes

himself as *Kavi-tārṅika-cakravartī* in the Colophon of the *Pratyakṣa* section of his *Bhāvārtha-dīpikā*.³¹⁶

XVII. HARIRĀMA TARKAVĀGĪŚA³¹⁷

Harirāma's reputation as an eminent *Naiyāyika* of the Nadiā school does not rest so much upon his own productions, as upon his relation as tutor to the great Gadādhara Bhaṭṭācārya. But, there is no doubt that he was the recognised head of the then *Naiyāyika* community of Navadvīpa. It is said that he used to get the highest reward in all public assemblies, a distinction which has invariably been confined to the scholar occupying the foremost rank at Nadiā for erudition and controversial eloquence. Of the long list of his works the greater part are already forgotten, except one or two little pieces which are sometimes used by inquisitive students. His works were numerous and strikingly original. Here are some names :

A. Commentaries on

(a) Śivāditya's

i. Saptapadārthī

(b) Gaṅgeśa's

- i. Tattvacintāmaṇi. The author of Navadvīpa-mahimā describes it as a mere adaptation from Cintāmaṇi, and, not an actual commentary.

B. A large number of brief tracts, e. g.,

- (a) आचार्यमतरहस्य, vindicating Udayana's theory of *anumiti*; viz. :

“वह्निव्याप्यधूमवान् पर्वत इत्यादिपरामर्शात् वह्निव्याप्ति-
विशिष्टधूमादिविषयिनी वह्निव्याप्यधूमवान् पर्वतो वह्निमानि-
त्यनुमितिरुत्पद्यते” ।

- (b) न्यायनव्यमतविचार
- (c) रत्नकोशविचार
- (d) विषयतावाद
- (e) प्रत्यासत्तिविचार
- (f) मङ्गलवाद
- (g) प्रमाणप्रमोद
- (h) अनुमतिपरामर्शबाधबुद्धि
- (i) प्रतिबन्धकताविचार
- (j) विशिष्टवैशिष्ट्यबोधविचार
- (k) नव्यधर्मितावच्छेदकता

Harirāma died a ripe old man. Gadādhara³¹⁸ and Raghudeva³¹⁹ were his principal students.

Harirāma quotes, among other works, from one Nyāya-kaustubha. But, it is evident that this cannot have been the work of the famous Mahādeva Puna-
tamkar who was his successor. In the Government Sanskrit Library, Benares, there is a Ms. of Raghudeva's Commentary on the Kusumāñjali Kārikās transcribed by Mahādeva in his own hand. As Raghudeva was Harirāma's pupil Mahādeva could not have lived before the latter.

As a teacher of Raghudeva Harirāma may be assigned to the first quarter of the 17th century.

XVIII. JAYARĀMA NYĀYAPANCĀÑANA

From the introductory verse no. 1 of his Commentary on the Dīdhiti it appears that Jayarāma was the pupil of one Rāmabhadra Bhaṭṭācārya.³²⁰ But, who this Rāmabhadra might have been, there is no means of

ascertaining. Mr. Chakravarti takes him as the author of Nyāyarahasya which is likely, but, it seems to me more probable that he was the same as the pupil of Jagadīśa. Jayarāma's time can be determined with exactness and he may be assigned to the third and fourth quarters of the 17th century. For, there is evidence to show that he was living at Benares in Sainvat 1714 or 1657 A. D.³²¹ and composed one of his works in Sainvat 1750 or 1693 A. D.

He is known to have been the author of the following works :

A. Commentaries on

(a) Gautama's

i. Nyāya Sūtras (Nyāya-siddhānta-mālā). The work contains the following references :

पदार्थमाला —fols. 3b², 6a³, 8a²

प्रमेयतत्त्वबोधकृतः —fol. 4a¹

प्रमेयतत्त्वबोधः —fols. 4b⁵, 11b¹⁻²

तत्त्वबोधे वर्धमानः —fol. 5a³

वर्द्धमानः —fols. 9b⁶, 10a², 16b²

वर्धमानादयः —fol. 8a^b

नव्याः —fols. 4b³, 10b², 13a⁵, 13b², 116b¹

प्रशस्तपादभाष्य —fol. 4b⁶

भाष्यकृतः —fol. 13a⁵

वार्त्तिककृतः —fol. 6b⁵

वार्त्तिकादयः —fol. 8a⁷

वार्त्तिककारः —fol. 13b³

न्यायनिबन्धप्रकाशः —fol. 12b⁴

टीकाकृतः —fol. 14b⁵

उपाध्यायाः —fols. 20a⁵, 29b⁷

मणिकृतः —fol. 28a⁵

मणिकृदनुयायिनः —fol. 75a²

मिश्राः —fol. 29b⁷

दीधितिकृतः —fols. 32a⁶⁻⁷, 75a⁵

आचार्याः —fol. 34b⁶

रत्नकोषकृतः —fol. 83b⁶⁻⁷

वागीशः —fol. 96b³ (the view is refuted by the author)

प्राञ्चः —fol. 116b¹

मणिकण्ठ —fols. 135b⁴, 135a⁵

शबरस्वामिनः —fol. 145a¹

It was composed in Sainvat 1750 or 1693 A. D.³²²

(b) Udayana's

i. Kusumāñjali Kārikās (Vivṛti). It is referred to in his Padārthamālā.³²³

(c) Pakṣadhara's

i. Tattvacintāmaṇyāloka (Viveka). Referred to as Ālokarahasya in his Commentary on the Kusumāñjali Kārikās.

(d) Raghunātha's

i. Guṇa-kiraṇāvalī-prakāśa-dīdhiti

ii. Tattvacintāmaṇi-dīdhiti (= Gūḍhārtha-vi-dyota or Dīdhiti-vivṛti).

B. (a) Padārtha-mālā or Padārtha-maṇi-mālā or Śabdārtha-mālā.³²⁴ It is a valuable treatise, quite original in its treatment. The author declares his object in writing this tract as purely critical :

“भाष्याद्युक्तिषु हीनयुक्तिषु रतिः प्रेक्षावतां प्रेक्ष्यते
ह्यायार्यैर्विहितापि युक्तिरहिता वाणी क्वचिल्लक्ष्यते ।
मत्तैव जयराम एष विपुलैः सद्युक्तिमुक्ताफलैः
प्रव्यक्तं वितनोति कोविदमुदे शब्दार्थमालामिमाम् ॥”

From the above it appears that the work was intended to form a kind of supplement to the *Prāśastapāda-bhāṣyam* and the *Kiraṇāvalī*.

- (b) *Anyathā-khyāti-vicāra*
- (c) *Laghu-sannikarṣa-vāda*
- (d) *Nyāya-mālā*.

XIX. GADĀDHARA BHATṬĀCĀRYA

Gadādhara (1650 A. D), son of Jivācārya and a younger contemporary of Jagadīśa, was a Vārendra Brāhmaṇa originally of Lakṣmīchapara in the district of Pabna.³²⁵ He came to Nadiā for prosecution of studies; and, being admitted to the *ṭol* of Harirāma Tarkavāgīśa, the greatest living Professor of *Nyāyaśāstra*, he was soon able through diligence and steady application to win for himself the favour of his tutor and rise into prominence. It is said that owing to Harirāma's death before completion of his studies Gadādhara could not secure any title of distinction.

It was Harirāma's dying wish that on his death Gadādhara should succeed him to professorship in his *ṭol* as otherwise its reputation would not be maintained. Gadādhara readily consented to comply with this last wish of his tutor, and, began to teach, but, he soon found to his great disappointment that no students cared to come up to him for study; and, even the old batch deserted him one by one. His absence of a "conventional title" of merit was a bar to his real claim to tutorship. However, Gadādhara was not a man to allow his spirits to be damped by this. He left his tutor's place and founded a school of his own in a delightful little garden on the wayside of

the main road leading to the Ganges. Here in the cooling shades of the trees he made his abode. In the absence of any students coming to hear him he would deliver his lectures before the creepers and plants of flowers. Paṇḍitas coming to the garden for plucking flowers and passing by it on their way to the Ganges for bathing would often pause to hear him and found his discourses as learned as attractive. Gadādhara's fame thus spread around within a remarkably short period and drew towards him flocks of students from various quarters.³²⁵

He was the author of—

A. Commentaries on

(a) Udayana's

i. Nyāya-kusumāñjali

(b) Pakṣadhara's

i. Tattvacintāmaṇyāloka

(c) Raghunātha's

i. Ātmatattvaviveka-dīdhiti. Tradition places this among the earliest works of Gadādhara.

ii. Tattvacintāmaṇi-dīdhiti.

B. (a) Brahma-nirṇaya

and

(b) 64 short treatises, known as *Vādārthas*, dealing each with a separate topic of the new school of Nyāya Philosophy, such as—

(i) विषयतावाद

(ii) शक्तिवाद

(iii) मुक्तिवाद

(iv) व्युत्पत्तिवाद

- (v) सादृश्यवाद
- (vi) रत्नकोशवाद
- (vii) कारणतावाद
- (viii) अनुमितिमानसवाद
- (ix) नव्यमतवाद
- (x) विधिस्वरूपवाद, etc., etc.

Gadādhara was a Vaiṣṇava, being a votary of the Vṛndāvana form of Śrī Kṛṣṇa (*Nanda-tanuja*), but, he did not fail to pay due reverence to the other forms of the Divinity.³²⁷

His principal student was Jayarāma Tarkālaṅkāra.³²⁸

XX. RAGHUDEVA NYĀYĀLĀṆKĀRA

Raghudeva was also Harirāma's disciple and plainly refers to him as his *Guru* in *Dravya-sāra-saṅgraha*.³²⁹ He is said to have been Bhavānanda's descendant. He wrote the following works :

A. Commentaries on

- (a) Kaṇāda Sūtras
- (b) Udayana's

i. Nyāya-kusumāñjali Kārikās³³⁰

(c) Gaṅgeśa's

i. Tattvacintāmaṇi. This Commentary is known as Gūḍhārtha-dīpikā, or popularly by the name of the author as Raghudevī.

(d) Raghunātha's

- i. Padārtha-tattva-nirūpaṇa
- ii. Tattvacintāmaṇi-dīdhiti
- iii. Ākhyāta-vāda

B. (a) Viṣayatā-vicāra. Raghudeva refers to this in his Commentary on Padārtha-tattva-nirūpaṇa.³⁸¹

(b) Dravya-sāra-saṅgraha

(c) Nirukti-prakāśa

and

(d) a certain number of tracts, such as—

(i) विशिष्टवैशिष्ट्यबोधविचार

(ii) अनुमितिपरामर्शविचार

(iii) सामग्रीवाद

(iv) प्रतियोगिज्ञानकारणताविचार, etc., etc.

Raghudeva is sometimes identified with the new Kaṇāda, but, this does not seem to be correct. For, we know that Kaṇāda's *Guru* was one Cūdāmaṇi, as mentioned in his own Bhāṣāratna and not Harirāma or even Jagadīśa.³⁸²

On the basis of this supposed identity between Raghudeva and Kaṇāda and of the fact that Śaṅkara Miśra pays obeisance to Kaṇāda in the Upaskāra, Bodas makes Śaṅkara pupil of Raghudeva.

Raghudeva lived at Benares. Mm. Haraprasāda Śāstrī, in his Report on Sanskrit Mss.³⁸³ assigns him to the beginning of the 18th century. But, this date is certainly wrong. In the Government Sanskrit Library, Benares, there is a manuscript of Raghudeva's commentary on the Kusumāñjali Kārikās transcribed by Mahādeva Puntamkar in Sāṃvat 1739 or 1682 A. D. Raghudeva was, therefore, of an earlier date. The 'Decision' of Benares Paṇḍitas referred to above contains the signature of Raghudeva. This 'Decision' is dated

Samvat 1714 (कृतकगाब्दे) and Śaka 1579 (नन्दशैलशरभूमित-शाके), that is 1657 A. D. which is consequently the exact date of Raghudeva.

XXI. JAYARĀMA TARKĀLANKĀRA

Jayarāma's (1675 A.D.) father Jayadeva was the Court Paṇḍita of Putia in the District of Rajshahee and had been originally a native of Pabna. In old age he retired to Navadvīpa where he settled permanently. Jayarāma is said to have received his education in the *ṭol* of Gadādhara, and, wrote a commentary, the only work by him yet known to us, on his teacher's Śaktivāda.³³⁴

His most famous pupil was Viśvanātha Pañcānana, the author of Bhāṣāpariccheda and Muktvāli.³³⁵

XXII. VIŚVANĀTHA NYĀYASIDDHĀNTA- PAÑCĀNANA

Of all the authors of Nyāya tracts whose aim has been to bring the subject within easy reach none has achieved a greater success than Viśvanātha, the eldest son of Vidyānivāsa, of Nadiā.³³⁶ His Bhāṣāpariccheda with his own gloss upon it named Nyāya-siddhānta-muktvāli³³⁷ occupies even now the foremost position among the manuals on Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika Philosophy, and for a learned and lucid interpretation of the original *sūtras* of Gotama no better work is available than his Nyāya-sūtra-vṛtti. His other works are less known, but, equally interesting. As to religious belief he was a Vaiṣṇava and passed the last years of his life in retirement and devotion at Vṛndāvana. It was here that he composed, in 1576 Śaka or 1654 A. D., his learned commentaries on Nyāya Śūtra in pursuance of Siromaṇi's interpretation. He belonged to the second and third quarters of the 17th century and was the author of the following books :

A. Glosses on—

(a) Gotama's

- i. Nyāya Sūtras (Nyāya-sūtra-vṛtti), composed in 1654 A. D.

(b) Raghunātha Śiromaṇi's

- i. Padārtha-tattva-nirūpaṇa

(c) His own

- i. Bhāṣā-pariccheda, a collection of couplets, summarising the doctrines of the Vaiśeṣika Philosophy. The work purports to have been written for the use of the author's nephew (?) Rājīva. There is a copy of this work belonging to Nṛsiṃha Dikṣita, dated Sainvat 1719 or 1662 A.D.

B. (a) Nyāya-tantra-bodhinī

(b) Subārtha-tattvāloka.

XXIII. TRILOCANADEVA

Trilocana was the pupil of one Rāma, a professor of Nadiā, and he refers to Vācaspati Miśra, Śiromaṇi Bhaṭṭācārya and Guṇānanda.³³⁸ His works are—

A. Commentaries on

(a) Udayana's

- i. Kusumāñjali (Kusumāñjali-vyākhyā)
and

(b) Viśvanātha's

- i. Nyāya-siddhānta-muktāvalī, called Locanī after the author's name.³³⁹

XXIV. RĀMAKṚṢṆA BHATṬĀCĀRYA CAKRAVARTI

In introducing his commentary on Rāmakṛṣṇa's Tarkāmṛta Kṛṣṇakānta Vidyāvāgiśa gives a brief, but, interesting outline of the early history of the author's line. He says that in the village of Kotaliparah, which as we know even now maintains a position of intellectual eminence in Bengal, there once lived a Brāhmaṇa named Govinda, who was well-versed in the Kalāpa System of Grammar and in Smṛti and used to teach these subjects to his pupils. He had a son, whose name does not appear in the work, and, three grandsons, viz., Durgāprasāda, Caṇḍidāsa and Devīdāsa. Devīdāsa was the youngest and apparently the most intelligent of the group. He had a scholarly disposition. Having finished his education at home, he went out to Nadiā, then the centre of culture in Eastern India, with the idea of prosecuting higher studies in philosophy. He sat for a long time at the feet of the famous logician Bhavānanda Siddhāntavāgiśa and became one of his most favourite pupils. It is said that even on the first interview Bhavānanda had been so much struck with his scholarship that he had predicted about his future greatness. He then married and went to Benares, where he became known for his learning under the title of "Vidyābhūṣaṇa". It was here that his son, Rāmakṛṣṇa was born.

About Rāmakṛṣṇa himself Kṛṣṇakānta says little, excepting that he was thoroughly conversant with all the *Śāstras* was a great Pāṇḍita and won wide celebrity. Besides, it is added that on the occasion of his marriage Devīdāsa came to Pāṭālī and settled³⁴⁰ there as teacher till the end of his life.

Whether Rāmakṛṣṇa returned to Bengal and settled at Nadiā or stayed on at Benares, is not known. But, it is certain that his influence travelled far and wide, and, was not confined to provincial limits.

Kṛṣṇakānta, Rāmakṛṣṇa's great grandson, having lived in 1801 A. D., Rāmakṛṣṇa's time may be assigned with some probability to the last quarter of the 17th century.

He wrote—

A. Commentaries on

(a) Raghunātha Śiromaṇi's

i. Nyāyalilāvatī-dīdhiti

ii. Tattvacintāmaṇi-dīdhiti

iii. Guṇa-kiraṇāvali-prakāśa-dīdhiti.

and B. (a) Nyāyadīpikā

(b) Tarkāmṛta

(c) A certain number of *Vādārthas*.

XXV. MAHĀDEVA BHATṬĀCĀRYA

There exists in the Government Sanskrit Library, Benares, a Ms. of a work named *Mitabhāṣiṇī* which on examination is found to be a gloss on the Nyāya Sūtras of Gotama, attributed in the Colophon⁸¹¹ to one Mahādeva Bhaṭṭācārya. He was the son of Vāgīśvarācārya and Bhāgīrathī. From evidences of style and method of interpretation I feel strongly inclined to identify this writer with the author of a similar gloss on the Sāṅkhya Sūtras (*Sāṅkhya-vṛtti-sāra*). If this identification be correct Mahādeva had been the pupil of one Svayam-prakāśa Tīrtha who conferred on him the title of 'Vedāntin'.⁸¹²

His time falls in the last quarter of the 17th century. At the end of his Commentary on Viṣṇu-sāhasra-nāma he gives Sainvat 1750 (खबाणमुनिभूमाने) or 1693 A. D. as the date of its composition :

“महादेवोऽकरोद् व्याख्यां विष्णोर्नामसहस्रगाम् ।
खबाणमुनिभूमाने वत्सरे श्रीमुखाभिधे” ॥^{३४४}

XXVI. RĀMACANDRA SIDDHĀNTA VĀGĪŚA

I noticed a Ms. of Rāmacandra's Commentary on Cintāmaṇi-dīdhiti, *Pratyakṣa* section, (Pratyakṣa-maṇi-dīdhiti-vivecana) in the family Library of Bābu Dikṣita Jade of Benares. The Ms. was incomplete, containing only a few leaves at the end. In the Colophon, which is happily preserved, the author is styled Mahāmahopādhyāya.

XXVII. ŚRIKṚṢṆA NYĀYAVĀGĪŚA BHATṬĀCĀRYA

Śrikrṣṇa was the son of Govinda Nyayālankāra and was the author of a Commentary on the Nyāya-siddhānta-mañjarī, called Bhāva-dīpikā. This Commentary was written, as the author himself intimates in the Colophon, at the instance of one Rājā Bhāva Siṃha, son of Śatruṣālya.^{३४५} No clue is given as to the identity of these kings.^{३४६}

The author of Navadvīpa-mahimā says^{३४७} without stating any authority, that this Govinda was the descendant of the great Vāsudeva Sārvabhauma and that he was the leading Paṇḍita at the Court of Nadiā. It is also said that he received 1000 *biḡhās* of rent-free land in the village of Aḍabāndi.

XXVILL. KṚṢṆAKĀNTA VIDYAVAGĪŚA

Kṛṣṇakānta, the son of Kālicaraṇa Nyāyālaṅkāra and Tārīṇī Devī and a pupil of Rāmanārāyaṇa Tarkapañcānana³⁴⁷ was a Brāhmaṇa of the Vedic class. He flourished towards the end of 18th and beginning of 19th century, during the reign of Mahārāja Girīśacandra of Krishnanagara.³⁴⁸

He was the author of

A. Commentaries on

(a) Raghunātha's

i. Padārtha-tattva-nirūpaṇa

(b) Jagadīśa's

i. Śabda-śakti-prakāśikā (Śakti-sandīpanī).

This work was composed in Śaka 1723 or 1801 A. D.

(c) Rāmakṛṣṇa's

i. Tarkāmṛta

B. (a) Nyāya-ratnāvali.

C. THE DECCANI SCHOOL

I. CENNU BHATṬA

Cennu Bhaṭṭa, the author of a Commentary, perhaps the earliest yet extant, on Tarkabhāṣā (Tarkabhāṣā-prakāśikā) is known to have been a native of Southern India. From the Colophon of this Commentary³⁴⁹ it appears that he was the son of one Sahaja-sarvajña Viṣṇu, that he had an elder brother named Sarvajña and that his patron was Mahārājā Harihara, assuredly identical with the famous king Harihara II of Vijayanagara (1400 A. D.).

This Sarvajña Viṣṇu was perhaps the same scholar whom the younger Mādhava (Sāyaṇa's son) mentions as the son of Śārṅgapāṇi and as his own *Guru* in the beginning of his Sarvadarśana-saṅgraha³⁵⁰ and to whom Sāyaṇa refers as the author of Vivaraṇa-vivaraṇa in his *Śaṅkara-darśana* ("तदुक्तं विवरणविवरणे सहजसर्वज्ञविष्णुभट्टोपाध्यायः")³⁵¹ Whether Sarvajña Viṣṇu was the name which Vidyātīrtha, the chief *Guru* (मुख्यः गुरुः) of Vidyāraṇya and Sāyaṇa, bore before his renunciation of the world is a question to which I am not in a position to offer any decisive reply with the date at present available to me.³⁵² But, the fact that the invocatory verse—"यस्य निःश्वसितं वेदाः", etc.—found in many of Sāyaṇa's and Vidyāraṇya's works occurs also in Cennu's Commentary, would appear to indicate that all these three scholars were disciples of one and the same spiritual preceptor, named Vidyātīrtha; and, the fact of Sāyaṇa's quoting Sahaja-sarvajña Viṣṇu by name tends in my opinion against the possibility of identifying him with Vidyātīrtha.

Among the authors quoted in the Tarkabhāṣā-prakāśikā (e.g., Udayana, Kandalikāra, Maṇḍana Miśra, Vācaspati Miśra, Varadarāja, Vādindra and Śālikanātha) Varadarāja may be taken to be the author of Tārīkarakṣā and Vādindra identical with the teacher of Bhaṭṭa Rāghava.

II. MAHĀDEVA PUNTĀMKARA

The most prominent student of Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika Philosophy at Benares towards the end of the 17th century was a Deccani Brāhmaṇa, by name Mahādeva, of the Puntāmkara family. He had been a pupil of Śrīkaṇṭha Dīkṣita and on his death succeeded him as one of the leading Paṇḍitas of the city. But, the chief little to his place in the history of the literature consists in his successful attempt at rescuing Bhavānanda's works from the unmerited obloquy into which they had fallen, by subjecting them to a critical analysis and bringing out their real worth.

Mahādeva was the son of Mukunda,³⁵³ himself a learned man, being the master of the six systems of recognised orthodox philosophy (षट्शास्त्रतत्त्वदर्शिनम्). He was a devotee of Śiva, and, like his tutor Śrīkaṇṭha, of the goddess Siddheśvari.³⁵⁴

Mahādeva's time is known for certain. Among Mss. himself for his own use—and the number of such Mss. is a legion—I have found dates ranging from Samvat 1727 (= 1670 A. D.) to Samvat 1753 (= 1696 A. D.). I place Mahādeva, therefore, in the second half of the 17th century.

From an entry in one of his Mss. it appears that Mahādeva once went to Nadiā on tour either in search

of Mss. or on invitation to attend some meeting of the Paṇḍitas. He was in close touch with the scholars of Bengal whose learning he deeply appreciated.

His own works are :

A. Commentaries on

(a) Bhavānanda's

- i. *Didhiti-gūḍhārtha-prakāśikā* (= *Bhavānandī-prakāśa*). This book was intended to defend Bhavānanda from the attacks of the Bengali Paṇḍitas to which he had been exposed.³⁵⁵
- ii. *Didhiti-gūḍhārtha-prakāśikā* (= *Sarvopakāriṇī*).³⁵⁶ Both these are commentaries on one and the same work, one a big and the other a short one. Mahādeva himself states in the beginning of his *Sarvopakāriṇī* that he wrote two distinct commentaries on the *Bhavānandī*, of which one, being overlaid with technical minutae, was intended for the critical students of philosophy, while the other was to serve for the beginner as a general introduction to the subject.³⁵⁷

(b) Laugākṣi-bhāskara's

i. *Padārtha-prakāśa*.

- B. (a) *Nyāya-kaustubha*. It is an original treatise dealing with the main topics of Nyāya, containing as the author says an essence of the whole philosophy.

(b) *Īśvaravāda*

(c) *Navyānunitiparāmarśayohi Kāryakāraṇa-
bhāva-vīcāra*

(d) *Sādrśyavāda*.

III. NĀRĀYAṆA TĪRTHA

Among *Sannyāsins* there must be a very few in number who would feel inclined to give their time and energies to the task of elucidating the dualistic doctrines of Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika. Any work, supposed to aim a blow at the Vedāntic position, would be simply revolting in their eyes. Far from encouraging such a work by writing commentaries upon it, they would not tolerate its existence. But, Bhikṣu Nārāyaṇa Tīrtha was a notable exception to this rule. Not only was he passively tolerant, with catholic indifference to all which did not concern him, but, he wrote commentaries on three of the most popular and standard Nyāya works :

(a) Udayana's

i. *Kusumāñjali Kārikās*.

There is an incomplete Ms. of this Commentary in the Government Sanskrit Library, Benares, where in the Colophon at the end of *stavaka* third the author is called परमहंसपरिव्राजकाचार्य. ३३४

(b) Raghunātha's

i. *Tattavacintāmaṇi-dīdhiti*

(c) Viśvanātha's

i. *Bhāṣāpariccheda (Nyāya-candrikā)*.

Nārāyaṇa says in his Sāṅkhya-candrikā³⁵⁰ that he was the pupil of Vāsudeva Tīrtha and disciple of Rāmagovinda Tīrtha. And, he seems to have been the teacher of the famous Brahmānanda Sarasvatī, usually called by the name of Gauḍa Brahmānanda (to distinguish him from another Brahmānanda who commented on the Paribhāṣendu-śekhara), author of a series of very learned Vedāntic works, including commentaries on Madhusūdana Sarasvatī's (a) Advaita-siddhi and (b) Siddhānta-tattva-bindu. This is apparent from Brahmānanda's own confession in the above commentaries.³⁵⁰

Nārāyaṇa's age is not known for certain. The only thing that can be said is that he was later than the middle of the 17th century, the time of Viśvanātha, on whose work he commented.

He must be earlier than 1701 A. D. (1758 Śaivāt), the date of a Ms. of Muktāvali-prakāśa by Dinakara, belonging originally to his private collection and now deposited in the Government Sanskrit Library, Benares.

IV. KOṆḌA BHATṬA

Koṇḍa Bhaṭṭa, son of Raṅgoji Bhaṭṭa and nephew of Bhaṭṭoji Dīkṣita, is better remembered for his works on Grammar, especially for his Vaiyākaraṇa-siddhānta-bhūṣaṇa³⁵¹, than for any treatises on philosophy, pure and simple. He was in a family of famous grammarians of Benares. His uncle Bhaṭṭoji Dīkṣita,³⁵² the author of Siddhānta-kaumudī, Śabda-kaustubha, Manoramā, etc., was a grammarian of the highest order, (besides being an authority in Smṛti and Vedānta) whose works in this branch of literature are still among the

noblest in the field. His father Raṅgoji, however, does not seem to have been a grammarian at all. He was a Vedāntist, being the author of two interesting works on the subject, viz., Advaita-cintāmaṇi and Advaita-śāstra-sāroddhāra.³⁶³

To Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika Literature Koṇḍa Bhaṭṭa seldom devoted his labours. We know, however, of three works coming from his pen as contributive to this philosophy. All these are of an elementary character and obviously intended for beginners—

A. (a) Tarkapradīpa

A Ms. of this exists in the Government Sanskrit Library, Benares. It was written at the instance of Rājā Virabhadra³⁶⁴ and contains the following references :

चार्वाकाः—fol. 3b⁸

वेदान्तिनः—fol. 4b¹²

मीमांसकाः—fol. 6b⁹

चिन्तामणिकार—fol. 8b⁷

आचार्याः—fol. 9a⁴

लीलावतीकृत्—fol. 11b⁶

उदयनाचार्य—fol. 11b⁵

प्राच्याः—fols. 11a⁵, 12a⁴

अस्मत्पितृचरणाः—fol. 26a²

अद्वैतचिन्तामणि (by his father) —fols. 26b⁷, 13

वैयाकरणभूषण (his own work) :—fol. 26a¹

(b) Padārtha-dīpikā. This is published in the Benares Sanskrit Series and requires no notice to be taken in this place.

(c) Tarkaratna.³⁶⁵ This is referred to in (b).

V. KṚṢṆA BHATṬA ĀRDE

He was a resident of Benares, being the son of Raṅganātha, and Kamalā,³⁶⁶ pupil of Hari and younger brother of Nārāyaṇa Bhaṭṭa. He is known for the following works :

A. Commentaries on

(a) Jagadīśa's

- i. Commentary on Cintāmaṇi-dīdhiti (= Jagadīśa-toṣiṇī or Mañjūśā)

(b) Gadādhara's

- i. Commentary on Cintāmaṇi-dīdhiti (= Kāśikā) and
- ii. Śaktivāda.

VI. MĀDHAVA DEVA

Mādhava Deva was the son of Lakṣmaṇa Deva and grandson of Mādhava Deva of Dhārāsūrapura³⁶⁷ on the bank of the Godāvarī. He was himself a man of Benares where he had been living for a long time past. From the introductory verses of the Tarkabhāṣā-sāra-mañjarī it appears that he read with his own father Lakṣmaṇa. His works, only two in number within our present knowledge, were written at Benares and held in high esteem among the local Paṇḍitas ("काशीपण्डितमण्डलीषु विलसन्").

His works are :

A. Commentary on

(a) Keśava Miśra's

- i. Tarkabhāṣā (Tarkabhāṣā-sāra-mañjarī or Tarka-prakāśa), where the following are referred to—

गौरीकान्त—fols. 7a⁵, 13b³, 15a⁷, 18⁷, 20a³,
23a², 24a⁷, 34b⁵, 38a², 43b⁴, 44b⁷,
46b¹³, 48b⁶, 49a⁷

गोवर्द्धनप्रभृतयः—fol. 45a³

गोवर्द्धन—fols. 34b², 38b⁵, 43b³, 45a¹²

गोवर्द्धनवलभद्रौ—fol. 16a⁵

प्राचीनाः—fols. 11b¹, 30b⁵, 3, 45b⁸

मणिकृत्—fol. 48b¹⁰

दीधिति—fols. 45a², 46a¹

पण्डितस्मन्य³⁶⁸—fol. 50b⁵

रुद्रभट्टाचार्य—

Of the earlier commentators Gaurikānta has been most severely treated.

(b) Raghunātha's

- i. Tattvacintāmaṇi-dīdhiti. A part of this work, dealing with the import of the particle *eva* was known to Hultzsch³⁶⁹.

(c) Rāmacandra's

- i. Commentary on Guṇakiraṇāvalī, known as Guṇarahasya (Guṇarahasya-prakāśa) as in Hall³⁷⁰ or Guṇasāra-mañjarī as in Mitra.³⁷¹

- B. (a) Nyāyasāra. This is the earlier work of Mādhava (mentioned in Tarkabhāṣā-sāra-mañjarī on fols. 29⁴, 44a¹¹, 50a¹⁰) and merits appreciation. It was written at Tripurāri-rāja-nagara, or Benares. From the fact that Mādhava names Rudra Bhaṭṭācārya and Bhaṭṭojī Dikṣita he could not have lived earlier than the middle of the 17th century, and, the existence of a copy of Nyāyasāra in the India Office Library, transcribed in Sainvat 1767 (1710 A. D.) furnishes the posterior

limit of his age. In all probability, therefore, he belonged to the latter part of the 17th century.

VII. DHARMARĀJA ADHVARĪNDRA

As the author of *Vedānta-paribhāṣā* Dharmarāja's reputation stands high among modern students of philosophy; his Nyāya works have been forgotten and are now generally unknown. But, it was for these works that he seems to have been remembered in his life time.

He was an inhabitant of the village of Kandaramāṇikyā and was the son of one Trivedīnārāyaṇa Yajvan of the Kaundinya family.³⁷² He is known to have been the pupil of Paṇḍita Veṅkaṭanātha of Velanguḍi, a village which Mr. Burnell³⁷³ locates in the Kumbhakonaṁ Taluk of the Tanjore District. Dharmarāja mentions his *Paramaguru*'s name to be Nṛsiṃha Yati who may be tentatively identified with the author of *Bhedadhikkāra* (1547 A. D.). Rāmakṛṣṇa, Dharmarāja's son, refers to Nṛsiṃha in his *Śikhāmaṇi*. The time of Dharmarāja falls, therefore, somewhere about the middle of the 17th century.

In the introductory verses of the *Vedānta-paribhāṣā* Dharmarāja speaks of his two Nyāya treatises, both commentaries, named below :

A. (a) On Śaśadhara's

- i. Nyāya-siddhānta-dīpa³⁷⁴ (Nyāya-ratna); a copy of this work exists in the Tanjore collection³⁷⁵

and

(b) On Gaṅgeśa's

- i. Tattvacintāmaṇi (Tarka-cūḍāmaṇi), where he claims to have overthrown the views of ten previous commentaries. This seems, however, to be an idle vaunt.³⁷⁶

VIII. RĀMAKṚṢṆA ADHVARIN

Dharmarāja's son, Rāmakṛṣṇa, was the author of a Commentary, known as Nyāya-śikhāmaṇi, on Rucidatta's Tattvacintāmaṇi-prakāśa.³⁷⁷ This is the only work on Nyāya from Rāmakṛṣṇa's pen. From his Commentary (Vedānta-śikhāmaṇi) on his father's Vedānta-paribhāṣā it appears that Rāmakṛṣṇa was highly proficient in the New Logic of Eastern India and that his training was more on the line of a controversian than on pure Upaniṣadic lore.³⁷⁸

NOTES

1. Nyāyasāra, pp. 30⁸ , 34.10--11
2. The Sarva-siddhānta-saṅgraha, in its section on Nyāya (VI. 5, p. 24⁹), observes : “चत्वार्यत्र प्रमाणानि नोपमानं तु कस्यचित्”. This ‘कस्यचित्’ I interpret as referring to Bhāsarvajña whom we know as the earliest writer among the Naiyāyikas admitting the threefold character of *pramāṇas*. This interpretation seems to be confirmed by the statement of the famous *Kārikā* in Sureśvarācārya’s *Mānasollāsa*, II. 17-18 (Mysore Ed., pp. 49 50), which also occurs in the *Tār-kikarakṣa* (p. 56), viz.,

“प्रत्यक्षमेकं चार्वाकाः कणादसुगतौ पुनः ।
अनुमानं च तच्चाथ साङ्ख्यः शब्दश्च ते अपि ॥
न्यायैकदेशिनोऽप्येवमुपमानं च केचन”।

where Mallinātha explains the word *nyāyaika-deśinah* as *Bhāṣaṇīyāḥ*, i. e., followers of the doctrines of Bhāṣaṇa or Bhāsarvajña; for Bhāṣaṇa being a work of Bhāsarvajña, see *infra*.

3. cf. Yoga Sūtra, 1. 7. Though Sāṅkhya too admits three *pramāṇas* (Sāṅ. Sūt. 1. 99-101; Sāṅ. Kārikā 4), its influence on Bhāsarvajña’s work was nothing. The possible allegation of Vaiśeṣika influence, if well founded would be more to the point. But, it does not appear that Bhāsarvajña had much sympathy with this school.
4. I fail to see any ground in Dr. Vidyābhāṣa’s statement (Introduction to Nyāyasāra, p. 2) that Bhāsarvajña “treats only one topic, viz., *pramāṇa*, in his work”, for the whole of the latter portion of the book (pp. 34¹²-41⁰) is devoted to a consideration of the *prameyas*. It is immaterial that his formulation of the *prameyas* should differ from that of the older school.

5. p. 34.
6. We need not suppose that this fourfold division of *prameya* in Nyāyasāra is based directly upon an analogy of the four *ariya-saccas* of the Buddhists (cf. Saṃyutta-nikāya, V. 420-2). But, as to the further question whether some of the Yoga Sūtras themselves, as we have them to-day, originated under Buddhistic influence, it would be out of place to suggest any reply here. It is enough for the purpose in hand to concede that the Yoga Sūtras in their present form and Vyāsa's Commentary upon them are earlier than Bhāsarvajña's day; and this I believe will be readily allowed. We may also remember that in Bhāsarvajña's time or even before it, the doctrines and practices of Yoga had been widely in currency in Kashmir. That peculiar form of Kashmir Śaivism which goes by the name of Pratyabhijñā Darśana had already been evolved as a compromise between the Theism of Yoga and the *Advaita* of Śaṅkara; and in this Darśana, therefore, Yoga occupies a prominent position. Living in such a religious atmosphere, it was not strange that Bhāsarvajña should have been deeply influenced in his doctrines by Yoga. cf. also Vijñānabhikṣu's Introduction to Sāṅkhya-pravacana-bhāṣya.
7. Ny. Sū. 1. 1. 4.
8. It is strange that whereas Nyāya Sūtras do not recognise *yogi-pratyakṣa* at all, the Vaiśeṣika Sūtras dwell upon it at great length (cf. Vaiś. Sū. 9. 1. 11-15). Neither Vātsyāyana nor Uddyotakara take note of it. The latter, on the other hand, definitely assert *sannikarṣa* to be sixfold, and is silent on what is known as *alaukika-sannikarṣa*. It would seem that before the days of Tattvacintāmaṇi the difference between *laukika* and *alaukika sannikarṣa* was not positively declared in a Nyāya treatise. cf. Raghunātha's Padārtha-rātnamālā, p. 7.¹¹⁻¹⁹
9. Syādvāda-mañjarī, Yaśo-vijaya Jain Series, p. 628.
10. Śaṅkara-samuccaya-vṛtti, by Guṇaratna, p. 49.

11. Ibid, p. 44.

12. Ibid.

13. Śaḍdarśana-samuccaya, by Rājaśekhara, Yaśovijaya Jain Series, pp. 8 & 12. cf. also : “नैयायिकसांख्ययोः कथाया भौतिकानान्द्रियार्णोति यौगानामभौतिकानीति सांख्यानमिति वात्तिके यौगानां नैयायिकानाम्”—Nyāya-siddhanta-mālā of Jayarama, Ms. of Bābu D kṣita Jade, fol 16a.7-3b

14. Sarva-siddhanta-saṅgraha, pp. 24¹¹, 28³, 10-12.

15. See Ibid, pp. 36, 40 & 41. cf. Sāṅkhya Sūtra 3.20—“ज्ञानान्मुक्तः”. The Yoga view, as represented in Sarva-siddhanta-saṅgraha is briefly this :

‘गुरुर्पादष्टविद्यातो नष्टविद्योऽपि पुरुषः ।
देहदर्पणदोषास्तु योगेनैव विनाशयेत्” ॥

16. Śvetāśvatara Upaniṣat, VI. 20.

17. cf. Sarva-darśana-saṅgraha, Śaiva-darśana.

18. p. 35

19. This would be a confirmation of what Guṇaratna actually says in his Commentary on Haribhadra’s Śaḍdarśana-samuccaya; Rājaśekhara, Śaḍdarśana-samuccaya, pp. 34, 42-43, too mentions the fact that the Sāṅkhyas were worshippers of Nārāyaṇa (*Nārāyaṇa-parāḥ*) and the Yogins of *Īśvara* or *Śiva* (*Īśvara-devatāḥ*). In this connection the conception of Śiva as the *Yogin par excellence* may also be remembered as implying that Yoga was theologically a Śaiva system.

20. Ved. Sū. 2. 2. 37.

21. This is not the right place to inter into a discussion of *Īśvara-vāda* and its relation to other *vādas* which arose in ancient India, in attempting to solve the problem of Efficiency (*nimittatva*) and the Origin of Motion. In general sense Nyāya too, while dealing with this question, must come under the category of *Īśvara-vāda*. The fact that Nyāya Sūtras 4. 1. 20-21 are directed against *Īśvara-vāda* does not indicate, however, that this view is

- repudiated as altogether unwarrantable; it means simply that the extreme form of this doctrine as illustrated in the so-called Pāsupata Darśana in Sarva-darśana-saṅgraha, (e. g. *nirapekṣa-kartṛtva* of Īśvara, meaning that the Agency of Īśvara is free and spontaneous, and, not determined by the *karmas* of the *Jīvas*) is incompatible with its general background. cf. Tātparyāṭikā, p. 418.
22. Rājaśekhara and Guṇaratna take Śaiva = Naiyāyika, called *tapasvi* in Syādvāda-mañjarī; and, Pāsupata = Vaiśeṣika. These are two of the four *Mahēśvara* sects. Ratna-prabhā and Ānandagiri differ from this view.
23. pp. 39-41. The commentators Bhaṭṭa Raghava (Govt. Sanskrit Library, Benares, Ms. 162, fol. 98a¹) and Jaya Simha Sūri (pp. 282, 284) plainly ascribe the two views as expounded in Nyāyasāra to Vaiśeṣika and Nyāya.
24. p. 41. 7-8
25. cf. Guṇaratna's report of this view, pp. 93-94. This view, which latterly came to be associated with Nyāya, had been recognised as a *Purva-pakṣa* in Vātsyāyana's Commentary on Nyāya Sūtra 1. 1. 22.
26. V. 35-36.
27. VI. 41-43.
28. The *śloka* occurs in a slightly variant form in the following *śloka* :
- “वरं वृन्दावने रम्ये शृगालत्वं वृणोम्यहम् ।
न च वैशेषिकीं मुक्तिं प्रार्थयामि कदाचन ”॥.
- The expression “न च वैशेषिकीं मुक्तिं” is significant. Over against the above stands, however, the statement in the Naiṣadha (17.25)—“मुक्तये यः शिलात्वाय शास्त्रमूचे”, etc., which may be explained as either due to confusion (common in the later period) or as referring to the original system instead of its mediaeval modification.
29. cf. Nyāyasāra, Vidyābhūṣaṇa's Ed., p. 40. 10-13

30. p. 94^e.

31. p. 107.

32. cf. Vidyābhāṣaṇa's Ed. Nyāya-tātparyā-dīpikā, pp. 56, 64, 65, 67, 80, 87.

33. cf. Vidyābhāṣaṇa's Ed. of Nyāyasāra Text, p. 2.⁹⁻¹⁰

34. Ms. 162 of Govt. Sanskrit Library, Benares, fol. 116.⁴⁻⁵

35. Nyāya-līlavatī, Nirṇaya Sagar Ed., p. 33.

36. cf. Vaiśeṣika Sūtra 1. 1. 6 and Praśastapāda, p. 111.

37. In commenting on Nyāyasāra (Vidyābhāṣaṇa Ed., p. 3³⁻⁵) Bhaṭṭa Rāghava makes the following observations, showing that according to Bhāsarvajña *samkhyā* and *prthaktva* as separate *guṇas* have no existence; but, that in the manner of *prameyatva* they reside in all the *padārthas* alike :

“अत्र संख्याग्रहणं परमते द्रष्टव्यम् । स्वमते तु संख्यापृथक्त्वयोः सकल-
पदार्थनिष्ठत्वेन सामान्यवत्त्वार्थाभावात् । यथा हि प्रमेयत्वव्यवहारात् सकल-
पदार्थेषु प्रमेयत्वं तथा संख्यापृथक्त्वयोः सप्तपदार्थेषु पृथक् पृथक् इत्याद्यवधिता
बुद्धिस्तादृशिकाणां मृषा भवेत्”—fol. 14³⁻⁵.

cf. Nyāya-līlavatī. The author of Upaskāra (7. 2. 1) thus puts the view of Bhāṣaṇa on *samkhyā*—“स्वरूपाभेद एकत्वं, स्वरूपभेदस्तु द्वित्वादिकम्”. cf. Guṇa-kiraṇāvalī, p. 192.

38. Nirṇaya Sagar Ed., 1915, p. 224.

39. Vidyābhāṣaṇa's Ed., p. 2⁸.

40. cf. Yoga-sūtra 1.8

41. p. 222.

42. p. 230.

43. Yaśovijaya Jain Series, p. 65.

44. Vindhyaśvari Prasāda's Ed., p. 160.

45. Rasasāra, p. 4, edited by Gopinath Kaviraj (Benares , arasvati Bhavana Texts, No. 5) But, on p. 7, in defend-
ing the orthodox view as to the independent character of

Karma as a category, the author of *Rasasātra* himself refers to the shortened form of the name :

“एतेन कर्मापि गुण इति भूषणोऽपि प्रत्युक्तः । सामान्यवत्त्वे सति संयोगविभागजनकव्यवस्थाप्यजातेरतन्निमित्तगुणव्यवहारस्य वा कर्मणि बाधादनुमानसहस्रेणापि साधयितुमशक्यत्वात्”।

46. p. ii.

47. pp. 341, 351 and 353.

48. cf. also fn. 1 in *Kiraṇāval* (*guṇa*), pp. 160, 192.

49. cf. also *Tārkikarākṣaṇ*, p. 351¹⁰⁻¹¹ and *Nyāyasātra*, p. 26.¹⁶⁻¹⁷

50. Six Buddhist Nyāya Tracts, pp. 11, 58.

51. *Jayanārāyaṇa Tarkapañcānana's* Ed., p. 65²⁰:

“एककोटिनियतो ह्यनुभवो निश्चयः । ज्ञानतद्धर्मग्राहिणि च ज्ञाने न द्वैतमिति व्यवस्थितिरेव तस्यापि प्रामाण्यनिश्चयः परत एवेति न्यायसम्प्रदायः । अत एवेति विशेषात् तादृशस्य स्वत एवेति तात्पर्याचार्याः ।”

52. For another reference to *Tātparyācārya* see *Vacaspati II*, *Khaṇḍanoddhāra*, p. 81.

53. Introduction to *Praśastapāda-bhāṣya* with *Kiraṇāval*, p. 28.

54. Introduction to his own Commentary on *Kusumāñjali-Haridāsa*, p. ii.

55. *Nirnaya Sagar* Ed., p. 33.¹⁰⁻¹²

56. 7. 2. 20.

57. fol. 120 a¹, Ms. of Babu Dikshita Jād of Benares.

58. Benares Ed., p. 103.

59. It is quoted in *Parimala*, a commentary on *Mahārthamañjar* (V. 32) by *Maheśvarānanda*, thus : “सविदेव भगवती विषयसत्त्वोपगमे शरणम्”, etc. (p. 80, *Trivandrum* Ed.).

60. In *Nyāya-Jlavatī*, for example, the question arises as to whether *samkhyā* as an independent *guṇa* is to be admitted. The *Sutrakūra* and *Praśastapāda* both vouch for its separate

existence, but, Bhāsarvajña, and, with him Tātparyācārya, emphatically deny it, setting at naught the weight of all tradition, apparently on the simple, but, ultimate ground of *Samvid-virodha*. It is interesting to note that *Samvit*, or as it is somewhere in a more restricted sense denominated "*pratīti*", as the final arbiter for all decisions, is practically admitted by all [cf. Śāṅkara Miśra's remark in *Upaskāra* on the *Samavāya Sūtra*; cf. also Jayanta, p. 312]. Precisely the same attitude of mind is evidenced by the opponent in *Nyāya-mañjarī* when he defies the authority of *Prāśastapāda* on the strength of what he calls "*pratīti*" (*Nyāya-mañjarī*, pp. 136-1, 137²). Thus, referring to the statement of *Prāśastapāda* (*Vizianagram Ed.*, p. 24), viz., 'त्रयाणां प्रत्यक्षत्वरूपवत्त्वद्रवचानि', the opponent, anxious to establish the *pratyakṣatva* of *Kāla* declaims : "नेदं दैविक वचन यदनतिक्रमणीयम् । न च वचनेन प्रत्यक्षत्वमप्रत्यक्षत्वं च व्यवस्थाप्यते । प्रत्यक्षत्वं हि ऐन्द्रियकप्रतीतिविषयत्वमुच्यते । तच्चेदस्ति कालस्य नारूपस्यापि प्रत्यक्षता केन वार्यते"—*Vizianagram Ed.*, pp. 136-7-137³ .

Viewed from our present standpoint the drift of the opponent's arguments would appear to be this : That *Āplavacana* is acceptable in so far as it does not clash with our experience, but, as soon as it happens to differ its validity is impugned (cf. the view 'दृष्टार्थं वेदानां प्रमाण्यं नास्ति'). Of course in a sphere beyond human experience its validity stands undisputed—a curious doctrine and this is open to grave objections. But, such seems to have been the position of the opponent here concerned.

61. *Yoga Sūtra* 3. 54.

62. cf. "सर्ववस्तूनि संविदेकशरणानि", etc., in *Pramāṇa-pārāyaṇa* by Śālikanātha, *Upamāna* chap. (Pandit, Old Series, Vol I, p. 153).

63. cf. *Kṛemarāja* :—

A. In *Pratyabhijñāna-hṛdaya* (Kashmir Series, Vol. III)—

(a) "सर्वान्तरतमत्वेन वर्त्तमानत्वात् तदभित्तिर्लगात् विना च कस्यचिदपि स्वरूपानुपपत्तेः संविदेव भगवती 'मध्यम्' ।" p. 37 13-15

- (b) “यदा तु उक्तयुक्तिक्रमेण सर्वान्तरतमत्वे मध्यभूता संविद्भगवती विकसति,” etc.,—p. 39.¹⁻²
- (c) “पराशक्तिरूपा चित्तिरेव भगवता स्वतन्त्रा”, etc.—p. 2.⁶⁻⁷
(Note the use of term *Citiśakti* in Yoga).
- (d) “चिदेव भगवती स्वच्छस्वतन्त्ररूपा”.

and B. In Commentary on the Śiva-sūtras, called *Vimārśin*, Kashmir Series, Vol. I :

“परा भट्टारिका संविद् इच्छाशक्तिप्रमुखं स्थूलमेयपर्यन्तं विश्ववमन्ती”.

It may be mentioned by the way that the *śloka*,

“संविद् भगवती देवी स्मृत्यनुभववेदिका ।

अनुभूतिः स्मृतेरन्या स्मृतिः संस्कारमात्रता” ॥

ascribed by Gaurakṛti to the text of Tarkabhīṣa in some recensions has a like significance. The characterisation of *Sainvit* by the epithets *Bhagavati* and *Devī* is notable. Moreover, its description as the Supreme Witness (for such would be the meaning of *smṛtyanubhava vedikā*, literally the witness of *anubhava* and *smṛti* or of the whole mental life) rather than as a mere state of consciousness, while bringing it close to the Vedantic conception of *śakṣi*, is a sure mark of relation to the *Trika* Philosophy of Kashmir.

64. Vidyāśāgara Ed., p. 266.

65. Dr. Vidyābhāṣaṇa (Mediaeval Indian Logic, p. 140, fn. 2) makes the older Ratnakṛti, a contemporary of Rāja Vimala Candra (650 A. D.), the author of Apoha-siddhi and Kāṇabhāṅga-siddhi. But, the internal evidence of the works does not justify this view. How, for example, could a man of the 7th century have quoted from an author, e.g., Vācaspati, who lived undoubtedly so late as 841 A. D. at the earliest? To avoid falling into this absurdity I prefer to take the author of Apoha-siddhi, etc., to be the younger Ratnakṛti whom Dr. Vidyābhāṣaṇa himself describes as the

Guru of Ratnākara-śānti (Ibid, p. 140) in the University of Vikrama ilā. Ratnākara's time being 933 A. D. I have placed Ratnākarti in the middle of the 10th century. [N. B.—This is an indirect corroboration of the plea for an earlier date (than 976 A. D.) for Vācaspati Miśra].

66. Six Buddhist Nyāya Tracts, p. 13.

67. Ibid, pp. 58, 70.

68. Preface to Six Buddhist Nyāya Tracts, p. ii.

69. Both Udayana and Vardhamāna speak of Trilocana as Vācaspati's *Guru*. And, Vācaspati himself says in the Tātparya-ṭkā :

“त्रिलोचनगुरुन्नीतमार्गानुगमनोन्मुखैः ।

यथामानं यथावस्तु व्याख्यातमिदमीदृशम्” ॥

70. Introduction to Bhāmatī, verse 3, and, to Nyāyakaṇikā, verse 2.

71. Introduction to Tātparya-ṭkā, verse 1.

72. Introduction to Tattva-vaiśaradī, verse 1; cf. Tātparya-ṭkā, p. 513, 12-13

73. It is striking that though the descriptions of the Deity in the first benedictory verse of Nyāyakaṇikā approaches to the definition of *Īśvara* in Yoga-sūtra it is as Viṣṇu and not as *Īśvara* or *Śiva* that the Deity is conceived.

74. See Introductory verse I in Nyāyakaṇikā and verse 4 in the beginning of Bhāmatī.

75. See also Mm. H. P. Śāstrī, Preface to 'Six Buddhist Nyāya Tracts', p. ii.

76. Bibliography, pp. 5, 9, 21; cf. Aufrecht's Catalogus Catalogorum, I, p. 560; India Office Catalogue, p. 719.

77. cf. Yājñavalkya-smṛiti, 1, 293; see also Bala Śāstrī's Ed., Bhāmatī, p. 1, fn. 3.

78. See chap. XV, *Bibliotheca Indica* Ed., pp. 106-110. For a description of Mahāgaṇapati see Gopinatha Rao's "Hindu Iconography", Vol. I, pt. I, pp. 55-56.
79. "नृवान्तराणां मनसाप्यगम्यां ब्रूक्षेपमात्रेण चकार कीर्तिम् ।
कार्तस्वरासारसुपूरितार्थमार्थः स्वयं शास्त्रविचक्षणश्च ॥
नरेश्वरा यच्चरितानुकारमिच्छन्ति कर्तुं न च पारयन्ति ।
तस्मिन् महीपे महनीयकीर्तौ श्रीमन्नृगेऽकारि मया निबन्धः" ॥
80. cf. Amalananda in *Vedānta-kalpataru* (Vizianagram Ed., p. 246) : आचार्यो यो महीपतिर्महीचकार (Appaya Dīkṣita in *Kalpataru-parimala* prefers the reading महयाञ्चकार; see *Parimala*, Vizianagram Ed., p. 406) तस्य नाम नृग इति ।
81. *Nirnaya Sagar* Ed., p. 406.
82. cf. (i) Suali, *Introduzione allo studio Filosofia Indiana*, p. 53; (ii) Woods, *Yoga System of Patañjali*, Harvard Oriental Series, Vol. 17, Introduction, pp. XXI-XXIII; (iii) Seal, *The Positive Sciences of the Ancient Hindus*, p. 51; (iv) Chakravarti, J. A. S. B. 1915, pp. 262, 400. As opposed to the above I may set the view of Mm. H. P. Śāstrī (Preface to Śāstrī's Notices, Vol. II, p. XIX and "An Examination of the Nyāya Sūtras" in J. A. S. B., 1905, p. 246) who is disposed to maintain the Śāka theory. With all respect for the Śāstrī-j's erudition in this field I beg to differ from him on this point for the simple reason that Vācaspati ought to be placed at a sufficiently long interval from Udayana (984 A. D.) to enable the latter to conceive of the idea of writing a commentary upon his work.
83. Śāstrī's Notices, Vol. II, no. 118, p. 98 (cf. Preface XIX).
84. Vācaspati has left his speculations almost on every orthodox school. I say almost, because no work has yet been found dealing exclusively with the Vaiśeṣika system in its alienated form. But, though not discovered, such a work may be still existing. In Sāṅkhya his Tattva-kau-

mudrā has become a standard treatise and more than superseded Gauḍapāda's Bhāṣya, and, in Yoga the Tattva-vaiśarādī may yet claim the supreme place of honour. His Nyāya-kaṇikā, a commentary on Maṇḍana Miśra's Vidhiviveka, is as good a tract in Mīmāṃsā as the Bhāmatī is incontestably in Vedānta. It is not a work on Nyāya, but, on Mīmāṃsā; and it is a pity that a scholar like the late Mr. Dr. Satis Chandra Vidyābhāṣa in his posthumous work "The History of Indian Logic" (p. 314) makes the curiously blundering statement: "Vācaspati Miśra's Nyāya-kaṇikā, a work on logic, is not now available". The work was published in Benares as early as the year 1907 A. D. and is even now available in print. The word Nyāya seems to have led Dr. Vidyābhāṣa to the belief that it was 'a work on logic' though it is well-known that many celebrated Mīmāṃsā works have a similar designation. (cf. Mādhavācārya's Nyāyamālā-vistara, Parthasarath Miśra's Nyāya-ratnākara, Nyāya-ratna-mālā, etc.) Tattva-bindu is a small original paper devoted to discussion of Sound. Tattva-samkṣā (Bhāmatī, Nirṇaya Sagar Ed., p. 996; Tatparya-ṭīkā, p. 57) or Brahma-tattva-Samkṣā (Bhāmatī, Nirṇaya Sagar Ed., pp. 15, 466 & Tatparya-ṭīkā, p. 394) and Brahma-siddhi (Nyāya-kaṇikā, p. 80) are two other Vedantic works, now lost, by Vācaspati, to which he himself makes passing references. [Hall, p. 87, and, Amalananda (in Vedānta-kalpataru, Vizianagram Ed., p. 558) make Tattva-samkṣā a commentary on the Brahma-siddhi]. Of all his works Brahma-siddhi, Brahma-tattva-samkṣā and Nyāya-kaṇikā (mentioned in Bhāmatī, pp. 15, 466, 966; in Tatparya-ṭīkā, pp. 394, 395, 467; in Tattva-vaiśarādī under sūtra 4.14) seem to be earliest and Tattva-bindu (mentioned in Bhāmatī, p. 996), Tattva-vaiśarādī and Bhāmatī the latest. Tatparya-ṭīkā is earlier than Tattva-kaumudī (cf. Kaumudī under Kārikā 5), but, later than the earliest group. From the expression "न्यायसौख्यो-

गानां वेदान्तानां निबन्धनैः” in the *Bhāmatī* (concluding verse 2) it appears that *Tattva-vaiśāradī* and *Tattva-kaumudī* are both earlier than the work. It is thus clear, as orthodox tradition has ever maintained, that *Bhāmatī* was the last work from *Vācaspati*’s pen. [In *Catalogus Catalogorum*, p. 560 three more works are attributed to *Vācaspati*, viz., *Brahmatattva-saṃhitoppanī* and *Vedāntatattva-kaumudī* in *Vedānta* and *Yukti-dīpikā* in *Sāṅkhya*].

85. Buhler’s *Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Private Libraries of Gujrat etc.*, 4, p. 24.
86. May it not be the same *Nyāya-ratna* which *Bhāsarvajña* in *Nyāyasāstra* attributes to the authorship of his own *Guru*.

Presumably the work had been of great merit and enjoyed a wide celebrity before the time of *Vācaspati Miśra*, or he would not have undertaken to write out a commentary upon it. And, this would be perfectly in keeping with the encomiums bestowed upon it by *Bhāsarvajña*.

87. pp. 610-611.
88. *J. A. S. B.*, Sept. 1915, p. 262, fn. 1.
89. *Nyāya-mañjarī*, p. 120.
90. Preface to *Nyāya-mañjarī*, p. 1.
91. *Nyāya-mañjarī*, p. 312.¹⁸
92. p. 267.
93. *Vācaspati* lived in 841 A. D. and *Jayanta*, being the great grandson of *Śakti Svāmī*, the Minister of King *Muktāpāda Lalitāditya* of *Kashmir* could not have been far removed from him in age. Possibly both were contemporaries, one older and the other younger.
94. cf. *Upaskāra* on 1. 2. 3.
95. *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. II, p. 102. Dr. Stein makes it comprise “the whole tract of the lower and middle hills

lying between the Vitasta and Candrabhāgā.” (see Stein's Trans., Vol. I, p. 32, fn. to verse 180).

96. “अस्मत्पितामह एव ग्रामकामः सांग्रहणीं कृतवान्; स इष्टिसमाप्तिसमन्तर-
मेव गौरमूलकं ग्राममवाप” —Nyāya-mañjarī, p. 274. Dr. Stein
has fallen into a twofold mistake here : (i) in taking
Abhinanda to be the author of Nyāya-mañjarī and (ii) in
calling Jayanta's father by the name of Kānta. The
second mistake, based on Buhler's false rendering
(Indian Antiquary, Vol. II, p. 104) evidently arose from
a misunderstanding of the following verse of Kādambarī-
kathāsāra :

“अगाधहृदयात्तस्मात् परमेश्वरमण्डनम् ।
अजायत सुतः कान्तश्चन्द्रो दुग्धोदधेरिव” ॥

Here the meaning is plain enough. The word *candra*
has to be taken in a double sense signifying the name of
the son as well as the Moon. The epithet *kānta* would
be applicable in both the cases. That this interpretation
is the right one would appear from the fact that Jayanta
himself mentions Candra as his father in the end of
Nyāya-mañjarī, p. 639¹ c.

97. VIII, 1861.

98. Kalhaṇa's Chronicles of the Kings of Kashmir, by
Stein, Vol. II, p. 144-145, fn. to verse 1861,

A geneology of Jayanta's family, constructed from
the statements of his son is appended below :

Śakti (Gauḍa Brāhmaṇa of the Bhārdvāja Gotra).

Mitra

Śaktisvāmin, Minister (*mantri*) of King Muktapīḍa
(Lalitāditya) of the Karkoṭa family (see
Rāja tarāṅgiṇī, LV. 42).

Kalyāṇa-svāmin, a great sacrificer and *yogin*.

Candra, a great controversialist.

Jayanta.

99. J. R. A. S., 1911, p. 511.
100. There was a king of this name in Kashmir, but, the anachronism of his time (883-902 A. D.) and the fact of his being described by Kalhaṇa as a worthless prince (Vth *Taraṅga*) precludes the possibility of this identification.
101. Nyāya-mañjarī, p. 659¹⁷; cf. Kādambarī-kathasāra, Introduction.
102. cf. Rājasekhara's Śaṅḍarśana-samuccaya, p. 10³.
103. Nos. 385-387, p. CXLV. cf. also Stein, Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts, Jammu, p. 148, No. 1553. The opening benedictory śloka of this commentary is the same as in Nyāya-mañjarī (p. 1, verse 1), but, the concluding verse runs thus :

“अजातरसनियन्दमनमिव्यक्तसौरभम् ।
न्यायस्य कलिकामात्रं जयन्तः पर्यदीदृशत्” ॥

It is likely, considering the meanings of the words Nyāya-kalikā and Nyāya-mañjarī, that the former was a smaller work on the same subject, i.e., a gloss on the Nyāya Sūtras. However, this is only a conjecture.

104. Abhinanda thus describes the style of his father :

“सरसाः सदलङ्काराः प्रसादमधुरा गिरः ।
कान्तास्तातजयन्तस्य जयन्ति जगतां गुरोः” ॥

105. Nyāya-mañjarī, p. 204.
106. Ibid, p. 236.
107. Ibid, p. 200.¹¹⁻²⁵
108. Ibid, p. 201.¹²⁻¹⁴
109. Nyāya-vārttika, Benares Ed., p. 464.⁵⁻⁶
110. Ibid, p. 464.⁶
111. Ibid, p. 464.¹³⁻¹⁵
112. Nyāya-vārttika-tātparya-ṭīkā, p. 420.²¹⁻²³
113. Ātmatattva-viveka, Tarkapañcānana's Ed., p. 95.¹⁴⁻¹⁷
Comparing the statements of Jayanta and Udayana it appears

that their attitudes towards Āgama were quite distinct. In this regard in spite of slight differences Jayanta and Bhāsarvajña side together.

114. Chowkhamba Ed., p. 63.
115. Saṅgārāṇa-samuccaya, Yaśovijaya Ed., verse 114, p. 11.
116. Gaudapādācārya, while commenting on Sāṅkhya-kārika 4 plainly refers to the Vaiśeṣika opinion as being in favour of the duality of *pramāṇa* : “यद्यपि वैशेषिकैः शब्दो नाभ्युपेयते तथापि ते न प्रमातारः”—Benares Ed., p. 5.
117. II. 17, Mysore Ed., p. 49.
118. cf. Jayanīrāyaṇa's Sarvadarāṇa-saṅgraha in the vernacular, p. 45.
119. V. 33, p. 22.
120. Bhandarkar Report 1883-1884, p. 462 :

“वैशेषिकमते तावत् प्रमाणत्रितयं भवेत् ।

प्रत्यक्षमनुमानं च तार्त्तीयैकमथागमः” ॥ Viveka-vilāsa,

In the Brhadvṛtti to Veśeṣāvaśyaka-bhāṣya (Benares Ed., p. 666) the Vaiśeṣikas are credited with the theory of three *pramāṇas* : “इदं च वैशेषिकमतेन प्रत्यक्षानुमानागमलक्षण प्रमाणत्रयमुपन्यस्तम्”.

121. “एतेन स्वसमवेतविशेष्यविशिष्टत्वे सति स्वाश्रयैकजातीयव्यवच्छेदको विशेषगुण इति व्योमशिवाचार्योक्तमपि लक्षणं प्रत्युक्तम् । स्वाश्रयैकजातीयपदेन न वान्यतमस्य विवक्षितत्वात्”—p. 11.
122. Bombay Ed., p. 98.
123. For instance in Nyāya-kusumāñjali which being an independent treatise afforded ample opportunities to the author for sufficient freedom of expression, we find in several places the characteristic doctrines of Nyāya and Vaiśeṣika fused up with one another. To take one example : The Vaiśeṣika does not admit *Upamāna* and *Śabda* to be separate *pramāṇas*, but, Udayana, in agreement with orthodox Naiyāyika's standpoint (Ibid III, 12, Benares Ed., pp. 52-57 and pp. 57 etc.), makes it a definite point to prove that their separate character cannot be gainsaid. But, on the other hand, while dealing with the question of *svapna* or dream-consciousness

he subscribes to the usual Vaiśeṣika view of the point with some modification : Thus though the Naiyāyika and the Vaiśeṣika are both at one on the falsity of dream-consciousness, the former considers it as a kind of *smṛti*, whereas the latter makes it fall under the category of *anubhava* and so distinct from *smṛti*. Udayana agrees with the Vaiśeṣika in so far as he maintains the presentative character of dream-consciousness ("तस्मादनुभव एवासौ स्वीकर्तव्यः", Nyāya-kusumāñjali, V, Benares Ed., p. 147); but, differs from him in holding that even dreams may come occasionally true ("अस्ति च स्वप्नानुभवस्यापि कस्यचित् सत्यत्वम्, संवादात्", Ibid.).

124. Preface to Nyāya-kandali, p. 21, fn. 5.
125. cf. Sarvadarśana-saṅgraha and Dinakarī.
126. pp. 19-20.
127. For Śrīdhara referring to Udayana's views, see Preface to Nyāya-kandali, p. 21, fn. 3.
128. This attempt at synthesis, though incidental, may be taken to be one of the earliest of its kind on record and, though brief, is matchless in its grandeur. Sarvajñātma Muni's earlier attempt (in Saṅkṣepa-ārīraka) and Madhusūdana's (in Prasthānabheda) and Vijñānabhikṣu's (in his Introduction to Sāṅkhya-pravacana-bhāṣya) later ones pale before it in comparison.
129. p. 147.
130. Mallinātha in his Commentary on Tārkikarākṣa makes Udayana the author of Lakṣaṇamālā (pp. 179⁹ , 225¹⁸), but, this seems to be a case of erroneous ascription. Lakṣaṇamālā was the work of Śivāditya and not of Udayana. Probably the mistake arose from a confusion of Lakṣaṇamālā with Udayana's Lakṣaṇāvalī. That Varadarāja does not refer to Udayana's work follows from the fact that once (p. 179) he explicitly mentions Lakṣaṇamālī by name as the source of his quotation and that in both the cases the statements cited do not occur in the Lakṣaṇāvalī.
131. J. A. S. B., September 1915, p. 263.
132. cf. Tārkika-rākṣa, p. 308. 9-11

133. pp. 189-190, 308, 343, 357.

134. cf. Introduction to Tārkika-rakṣā, p. 7; Aufrecht, Catalogus Catalogorum, I, 65 (here the name appears as Bodha-siddhi).

135. p. 303. 10-11

136. For example, see Tārkika-rakṣā, p. 159¹³⁻¹⁴, where Varadarāja quotes Udayana's definition of *viśeṣa* under the name of *Ācāryāḥ* (Mallinātha makes *Ācārya* = *Kiraṇāvali-kūra*). cf. Tārkika-rakṣā, p. 107⁵⁻⁶ ("तदेतत् सर्वं न्यायकुसुकाञ्जलौ प्रपञ्चितमाचार्यैः"), p. 65³ ("लिङ्गपरामर्शोऽनुमानमित्याचार्याः"), pp. 85⁹, 86¹⁻², etc., and also, p. 77¹ (see Mallinātha's note).

137. His view might appear to be outlandish to one accustomed to the usual way of thinking. To him *tamaḥ* (darkness) is not mere *abhāva* as with the orthodox Naiyāyika nor a kind of *dravya* made up of atomic particles as with the Mīmāṃsaka, but, it is the blue colour and is, therefore, a quality (cf. for a summary of the different views on darkness, Athalye, Tarkasaṅgraha, Notes, pp. 78-79). Śrīdhara thus sums up his own conclusion on the question : "तस्माद् रूपविशेषोऽयमत्यन्तं तेजोऽभावे सति सर्वतः समारोपितस्तम इति प्रतीयते"—Kandalī, p. 9. 28-24

138. pp. 330-331.

139. Saṅgraha-tīkā (Kandalī, p. 159), was not a commentary on some treatise named Saṅgraha (= Kaṇāda-saṅgraha ?), as it is usually supposed, but, it was the name of the Kandalī itself. If we remember that the Kandalī was the Commentary on the Padārtha-dharma-saṅgraha, we can make out the meaning of the term.

140. Kandalī, p. 5.

141. Ibid, pp. 82, 146.

142. Ibid, p. 82.

143. loc. cit.

144. But, in Kashmir, it would appear from Bühler's Report, it enjoyed a greater popularity.

145. Thus in the *śloka*

“उपदिष्टा गुरुचरणैरस्पृष्टा वर्धमानाद्यैः
कन्दल्याः सारार्थास्तन्यन्ते पद्मनाभेन ॥” Introduction to.

Nyāya-kandali, p. 4, the expression *asprṣṭā Vardhamānadyaiḥ* plainly implies the existence of commentaries upon the work by Vardhamāna and other authors gone before.

146. See Peterson's Report 3. 272.

147. Yaśovijaya Ed., p. 56.

148. Śaṅkara Miśra employs this epithet for Śivāditya's name in his Commentary on Khaṇḍana-khādyā, Benares Ed., p. 144.

149. M. Chakravarti, J. A. S. B., 1915, p. 264.

150. See Pratyaksvarūpa's Commentary on Citsukhī, Nirṇaya Sagar Ed., p. 180; and, Śaṅkara Miśra's Commentary on Khaṇḍana, p. 144.

151. Introduction to Praśastapāda-bhāṣya and Nyāya-kandali, Vizianagram Series, p. 19, fn. 2.

152. cf. Tailaṅga Rāma Śāstri's Ed. of Saptapadārthī, Preface, p. 1 and the Text, p. 80, fn.

153. J. A. S. B., 1915, p. 262.

154. For example, Vaiśeṣika Sūtra 1.1.4; Praśastapāda-bhāṣya, p. 6; cf. Sāṅkhya Sūtra 1.25; Kandali, p. 331.⁴

155. Kandali, p. 7.

156. According to the Vaiśeṣika *mokṣa* being conceived as an absence of qualities, a separate category other than positive was rendered necessary. This was named *abhāva*.

157. Vyāsa's Commentry on Yoga Sūtra III. 14.

158. cf. Nyāya Sūtra 2.2.8, et seq., Nyāya-vārttika, pp. 278-280, 281-284; Tātparya-ṭikā, pp. 306-307 and Nyāya-mañjarī.

159. Nyāya-līlavatī, Nirṇaya Sagar Ed.

160. Ms. belonging to the Government Sankrit Library, Benar e

161. Folio 8 a, 5-6

162. loc. cit.

163. Mr. Chakravarti is equally wrong in his assertion (loc. cit. 262) made apparently on the authority of Kandalī, p. 331, that Śrīdhara "acknowledged only six categories". As indicated in the line quoted from Kandalī on p. 118 above this assertion is unfounded. Śrīdhara did acknowledge *abhāva* (note the phrase 'न स्वभावात्') as a real category of existence. Compare also Kandalī, p. 230. 3-23

164. Prefatory notice to Tārīkika-rakṣā, p. iii.

165. Mr. Chakravarti's assertion (loc. cit., p. 265) that "Vardhamāna is the oldest commentator known on Udayana's works" is thus found to be no longer tenable.

166. p. 46.

167. Tanjore Catalogue, p. 123.

168. A Ms. of this work, as far as chapter III, was obtained by the present writer in 1916. It had been transcribed in Śaka 1436 (1514 A. D.) and belonged to the private collection of Sarva-vidyā-nidhāna Kavīndracārya Sarasvatī whose name appears in bold hand on the first and last leaves. It has since been edited by the writer with a historical Introduction for the Sarasvatī Bhavana Texts, No. 4 (Benares).

169. See, Aufrecht, Catalogus Catalogorum, I, pp. 107, 550.

170. Nyaya-līlavatī is apparently an independent work, based on and planned after Praśastapāda's Bhāṣya. It is said that on this Vaiśeṣika Bhāṣya there was a commentary by Śrī Vatsa called Nyaya-līlavatī. If Śrī Vatsa is held identical with Vallabha, Nyaya-līlavatī will have to be considered as a commentary on the Bhāṣya, just as the Bhāṣya itself is on the Sūtras.

171. Vallabha is referred to in (a) Vāḍindra's Rasasāra (about 1225 A. D.), and, in (b) a Kanarese poem written by a poet under King Siṅghana of the Yadava dynasty of Devagiri (about 1226 A. D.).

172. Tradition identifies "Simha" (Lion) and "Vyāghra" (Tiger) whose definitions of *vyūpti* have been quoted by Gaṅgeśa under the name 'सिंहव्याघ्रोक्तलक्षण', with Śaśadhara (or Śaśidhara) and Maṇidhara. It is not known whether this tradition has a historical basis, and if so, who these two persons really were. Dr. Satis Chandra is inclined to believe that the names 'Lion' and 'Tiger' represent the Jain logicians, Ānanda Sārī and Amara Candra Sārī. See his *Indian Logic*, p. 396.
173. Aufrecht (Catalogus Catalogorum, I, p. 638) ascribes the following works to Śaśadhara : (a) Nyāyanaya, (b) Nyāya-mīmāṃsā-prakaraṇa, (c) Nyāya-ratna-prakaraṇa, and (d) Śaśadhara-mūlī. That the last is a separate work is evident. According to the India Office Catalogue, p. 646, (c) is another name of Nyāya-siddhānta-dīpa itself, while in Burnell, p. 119, it, i.e., Nyāya-ratna, is the name of a commentary on Nyāya-siddhānta-dīpa by Dharmarāja Bhaṭṭa. Nyāyanaya and Nyāya-mīmāṃsā too are probably not different works.
174. cf. the benedictory verses of his works.
175. Ānandāśrama Ed., p. 98.
176. See M. R. Telang's Introduction to the Mahāvidyā-vidāmbana.
177. For a discussion of this date see under Bhaṭṭa Rāghava.
178. See M. R. Telang's Introduction to the Mahāvidyā-vidāmbana, p. XVI.
179. Benares Ed., p. 29.
180. Ibid, p. 23.
181. The verse in which the date appears runs thus :

“शके चतुःसप्ततिसंख्यके शतैः शताधिकैरभ्यधिके च पञ्चभिः ।
द्विधातितैस्तत्र बभूव वत्सरैर्ध्रुवं विचारः परिभावि...वा” ॥

[The meaning of the last phrase is not clear, but, the reading is exactly as given above. There is no room for reading परिभावि राघवः, as the late Mm. Satis Chandra (Introduction to Nyāya-sāra, p. 7) has done. After *vi* of *bhāvi* there is

visible an *i* stroke, the consonant following having disappeared, and, the last letter with which the next line begins is *va* and not *vaḥ* so that the final word of the verse cannot be read as *Rāghavaḥ*. The Ms. is generally free from slips and is carefully corrected].

Of the two ways of interpreting this verse, viz., (1) $[(500 \times 2) + 100] + 74 = 1174$ Śaka or 1252 A. D., and (2) $[(500 + 100) \times 2] + 74 = 1274$ Śaka or 1352 A. D., I should prefer the former interpretation. Apart from the convincing historical grounds adduced by Mr. Telang (Introduction to *Mahāvīdyā-vidāmbana*, pp. XII-XV) there is another fact to be considered. In the Ms. named above there is an entry evidently by a later hand that the Ms was purchased by one Viṣṇu from one Udaya Siṃha for 25 (?) pieces in Sam. 1428 (= 1371 A. D.) : “विष्णुभिर्गृहीतं पुस्तकं पंचविंशति (नि ?) वयत्रयेणैदसिंहातः । संवत् १४२८ अष्टौसा समय वैशाख वदि २ द्वितीया रवौ ॥ श्रीरामार्पणमस्तु ॥ श्रीः ॥ श्रीः ॥ श्रीः ॥” This statement shows that the Ms. was purchased in 1371 A. D. Consequently the date of transcription must be earlier, and, that of composition much earlier still. In view of this circumstance the alternative of 1352 A. D. as the date of the composition of the work does not strike me as probable. I, therefore, accept the former interpretation of the verse and take the date to represent 1252 A. D. cf. also Hall (Bibl. Index, p. 26).

182. Sāraṅga is said to have been defeated in a public controversy by the Jain Logician Jaya Siṃha Sūri (1366 A. D.), author of a commentary on Bhāsarvajña's Nyāya-sāra, whose pupil Nayacandra Sūri describes this event in his *Hammīra Kāvya*. See T. M. Tripāṭhī's Introduction, p. xviii, to Ānandajñāna's *Tarka-saṅgrah* (Gaekwad's Oriental Series, No. 111).
183. See the Colophons at the end of each chapter : fols. 19a⁷ — b¹, 72 a⁷ and 100 b⁷ . cf. also the introductory verse in Nyāya-sāra-vicāra :

“महादेवमहं वन्दे गुरुं सर्वज्ञमादरात् ।
ग्रन्थग्रन्थिषु शोधित्ये शक्त्यस्मादभूत्तमम्” ॥—

India Office Catalogue, p. 609; and the verse at the end :

“अकार्यभ्यास एवायं मया ग्रन्थच्छलादिह ।
वादीन्द्रकृतिके सागरेऽपविबक्षणा” ॥—

Government Sanskrit Library, Benares, Ms. fol 100 b. 5-6

184. Hall, p. 67.
185. See, fols. 19 b, 72 a-b, 100 b.
186. Is this Khaṇḍana-maṇḍana identical with the work of Paramānanda existing in the Deccan College Library, Poona ? (Catalogue of Deccan College, p. 58).
- 187-188. The above three quotations are from Kumārila's Śloka-vārttika, 4.32, 2.112 and 2.111, pp. 143, 80 and 79 of the Chowkhamba Ed.
189. Bibliotheca Indica Ed., p. 276.
190. A Ms. of this rare work, dealing with the 5th chapter, exists in the Government Sanskrit Library, Benares (New collection of 1917-1918, Nyāya-section, *vestana* 9). It is named there Anvikṣā-naya-tattva-bodha and not Anvikṣā-tattva-bodha; but, as Vardhamāna himself refers to it under the second name in his Guṇa-kiraṇāvali-prakāśa, we keep it unchanged here.
191. Kusumāñjali-prakāśa-makaranda, Ben. Ed., p. 5 of chapter 3; cf. Aufrecht, Catalogus Catalogorum, I, p. 554.
192. While explaining the meaning of the word *ākare* in Anumāna-dīdhiti —“यथा चावसरस्य सङ्गतिर्त्वं तथा व्यक्तमाकरे”—Bhavananda (Bibliotheca Indica Ed., p. 12) identifies it with Pramāṇa-tattva-bodha. May it not be Vardhamāna's work of the same name ?
193. See, The Pandit, Old Series, VI, p. 128.
194. Reprint from The Pandit, p. 77.
195. Indian Logic, p. 455.
196. In the Navadvīpa-mahimā, p. 31, he is described as the pupil of Yajñapati Upādhyāya.
197. This cautiousness was pushed to its utmost limit. Thus we are told that Mss. of Nyāya works which existed in Mithilā,

having been left there by their authors, were not allowed to be copied, lest they should be borne away and the prestige of Mithilā for-ever destroyed. Students had to commit the texts to memory, and, before returning homes, had to be very carefully examined by their teachers. It was in this way that the *Kārikās* of Kusumāñjali were brought to Bengal for the first time, according to tradition, by Haridāsa Nyāyālaṅkāra; (but, according to Navadvīpa-mahimā, by Vāsudeva Sārvabhauma).

198. cf. the Colophon : “इतिश्रीन्यायसिद्धान्तसाराभिज्ञमिश्रवर्यपक्षधरमिश्र-
भ्रातृपुत्र-न्यायसिद्धान्तसाराभिज्ञ-वासुदेवमिश्रवरचितायां चिन्तामणिटीकायां”
etc.—India Office Catalogue, no. 786, pp. 631-632.

199. “जयदेवगुरोर्वाचि ये केचिद् दोषदर्शिनः ।
प्रबोधाय मया तेषां दीप्तिभूयोऽभिदोष्यते” ॥

200. Vide, Peterson's Ulwar Catalogue, no. 606, p. 26 ; ext. no. 146, p. 53.

201. “रसवसुहरनेत्रे चैत्रिके शकलपक्षे
प्रतिपदि बुधवारे वत्सरे लाक्ष्मणे च ।
विबुधबुधविनोदं कारयन्तीं सुपुस्तोम-
लिखदमलपाणिः श्रीरुचिः श्रीसमेताम्” ॥

See, V. P. Dube's Introduction to Vaiśeṣika Darśana with Kiraṇāvalī, p. 28.

202. Sixth Report, no. 190, p. 76.

203. Babu Rajendranath Ghose, in his valuable work on Navya-nyāya-vyāpti-pāñcaka (Introduction, p. 29), seems inclined to take the sentence “विंशब्दे जयदेवपण्डितकवेः तर्काधिपारंगतः”, occurring in Bhagīratha's Commentary on Dravya-kiraṇāvalī-prakāśa, in the sense that Bhagīratha completed his studies of Jayadeva's work at the age of 20. He understands *kaveḥ* with 6th case-ending and denies any relation between Jayadeva and Bhagīratha. But, it appears to me that though on any construction the sentence would be a faulty one, it would nevertheless yield a better sense if we were to take *kaveḥ* as with 5th case-ending. Moreover, Maheśa Thakkura's time being ascertained on other grounds also to be somewhere in the 16th century, the facts would square well if

Bhagīratha were placed in the early part of that century and Jayadeva in the middle of the previous century. In Maheśa's time Āloka was a new work. Mr. Chakravarti's hypothesis regarding Bhagīratha and Maheśa's date (1400 A. D.) is not very convincing.

204. "ज्येष्ठा महादेवभगीरथश्रीदामोदरा यस्य वयोयुगाभ्याम् ।
स दर्पणं निर्मितवानमीषां सहोदरो विष्णुपरो महेशः" ॥—

Anumāṇaloka-darpaṇa by Maheśa Ṭhakkura. Hall (p. 66) and Pt. V. P. Dube (Introduction to Tārīkika-rakṣa p. 24, fn. 1) are thus wrong in identifying Maheśa with his eldest brother Mahādeva. That Mahādeva was Bhagīratha's elder brother is clearly stated by the latter in his Kusumāñjali-prakāśikā :

"आसीदनुपमः कोऽपि महादेवः कुलाग्रणीः ।
अनुजस्तस्य कृतवानिमां व्याख्यां भगीरथः" ॥—

Ms. belonging to Government Sanskrit Library, Benares, fol. 126 a.

- 205-206. Both these works are under edition and expected to be published very shortly from the Government Sanskrit Library, Benares (Published in Sarasvati Bhavana Texts Series No. 96).

207. See, Indian Antiquary, 1912, p. 9.

208. See, V. P. Dube's Introduction to Tārīkika-rakṣa.

209. Aufrecht, Catalogus Catalogorum, I, p. 701; India Office Catalogue, p. 1573.

210. "उत्पाद्यसाध्यवत्तानिर्णयनिवर्त्यसंशयोत्पत्तिप्रतिबन्धकमानत्वावच्छिन्नाभावो यत्र स पक्ष इति जीवनाथमिश्राः". This *lakṣaṇa* is also quoted by Śaṅkara in his Vādivinoda (p. 61¹⁶⁻¹⁷). [*utpādyā* seems to be a better reading than *uddeśya* which is accepted by Dr. Jha]. There is another reference to Jivanātha in the Vādivinoda (p. 61²¹⁻²²).

211. p. 2.

212. Preface to Dr. Gaṅgānāth Jha's edition of Vādivinoda, p. 2.

213. Ibid, pp. 3-4.

214. See, Vādivinoda, p. 73; and Upaskāra (towards end, verse 1, Gujarati edition of Bakre, 1913, p. 360), where he describes himself as and *Bhavānī-tanayaḥ*. cf. also his *Kusumāñjali-vyākhyā*.

215. Thus, (a) in the *Līlāvātī-kaṇṭhābharāṇa*:

i. “पितृव्याख्यां कृत्वा मनसि भवनाथस्य कृतिनो
वयं लीलावत्याः प्रथयितुमिहोक्तिं व्यवसिताः” ॥
—etc., fol. 1.

ii. “पित्रा यद् भवनाथेन व्याख्यातं तदिहालिखम्”—
fol. 165 b.

(b) in the *Cintāmaṇi-mayūkha*:

i. “तातादधीत्याखिलतन्त्रसारं” etc.
(see, Stein’s Jammu Catalogue, p. 332).

ii. “पित्रा यद् भवनाथेन व्याहृतं तदिहालिखम् ।
व्याख्यानगुणदोषाभ्यां सम्बन्धो मत्पितुर्न मे” ॥—Ibid.

(c) in the *Khaṇḍana-khaṇḍakhadya-ṭīkā* :

i. “भवनाथसूक्तिगुम्फनमिह” etc.—fol. 1 b. 1-3

ii. “स्वभ्रातुर्जयनाथस्य” etc.—fol. 119. 1-2

(d) in the *Upaskāra*:

i. “याभ्यां वैशेषिके तन्त्रे सम्यग्युत्पादितोऽस्म्यहम् ।
कणादभवनाथाभ्यां ताभ्यां मम नमः सदा” ॥

216. Thus in the *Līlāvātī-kaṇṭhābharāṇa* :

“स्वभ्रातुर्जीविनाथस्य व्याख्यामाख्यातवान् मयि ।
मत्पिता भवनाथो मां तामिहालिखन्तमाम् ॥”—fol. 165 b.

The *śloka* also occurs in the printed text of Śaṅkara’s Commentary on the *Khaṇḍana-khaṇḍakhadya* (Lazarus & Co., Benares, 1888, p. 732), where the name *Jīvanātha* is replaced by *Jayanātha*; but, it does not appear in the Ms. no. 154, dated *Samvat* 1529, belonging to the Government Sanskrit Library, Benares. The statement, however, plainly shows that Śaṅkara reproduced in his work, at any rate in the Commentary on the *Līlāvātī*, what had been dictated to him by his father according to the teaching of his uncle, and, that consequently he should not be held directly responsible for the views therein expressed.

217. See the introductory verses of the Upaskāra, of the Līlā vatikaṇṭhābharāṇa, of the Kaṇāda-rahasya, of the Vādivinoda, of the Khaṇḍana-tikā, etc. etc.
218. End of Vādivinoda and of Upaskāra.
219. Upaskāra, under *sūtras* 1. 1. 2; 1. 2. 3, 6; 4. 1. 7; 9. 2. 13, etc. etc.
220. cf. the sentence 'दृश्यते चेह वाराणस्यां,' etc. etc. under *sūtra* 7. 1. 22.
221. See Kaṇāda-rahasya, p. 1 (Chowkhamba Ed.) :

“द्रव्यगुणकर्मसामान्यविशेषसमवायानां पदार्थानां तत्त्वज्ञानं निःश्रेयसहेतुरिति प्रशस्तपादाचार्यभाष्यव्याख्याच्छलेन कणादरहस्यं व्याख्यास्यामः ।”

222. Aufrecht, Oxf. Cat., no. 601, p. 243. Though the name of the Commentator does not occur here, there cannot be any question about Śaṅkara's authorship of the work. The verse

“भवानीभवनाथाभ्यां पितृभ्यां प्रणमाम्यहम् ।”

and the expression

“ततोऽधिकं पितृभ्यां व्याख्यातुमयमुद्यमः ।”

prove the fact beyond any shadow of doubt. There is no ground, therefore, for attributing this Commentary to Rāmabhadra Sārvaśhauma (*Sub Voce*). The *Ms.* of Āmoda, which exists in the Government Sanskrit Library, Benares (fols. 1-116), calls itself in the Colophon the work of Śaṅkara Miśra.

223. The verse runs thus :

“मकरन्दे प्रकाशे या व्याख्या परिमलेऽथ वा ।

ततोऽधिकं पितृभ्यां व्याख्यातुमयमुद्यमः” ॥

Mr. Chakravarti's reading of the *śloka* (J. A. S. B., Sept., 1915, p. 281) is manifestly corrupt. Aufrecht's Latin interpretation of this stanza, as given in the Oxford Catalogue, is hopelessly inaccurate. Putting aside for the moment the identity of Makaranda which might for aught we know appear to be the well-known work by Rucidatta (though there is every reason to question this identity). Aufrecht is wrong also in taking Prakāśa for Tattvacintamani-prakāśa

and Vyākhyā-parimala (!!) to be the name of a single work—probably of Haridāsa's Commentary, as he suggests. In reality, there can be no doubt that Prakāśa stands here for Vardhamāna's Kusumāñjali-prakāśa and Parimala is the name of another commentary on the Kusumāñjali (Parimala is quoted several times by Rucidatta in his Kusumāñjali-makaranda, see Candrakānta's Ed., I. 51, 52, 410, 518; II. 2, 141). As to the Makaranda mentioned in the *śloka* I do not think it can well be the work of Rucidatta who, as belonging to the beginning of the 16th century, must have been a later writer than Śaṅkara Miśra.

224. Introductory verse 2.

225. Śāstri's Notices, III, no. 136, pp. 88, 89.

226. loc. cit., p. 269.

227. This seems to me to have been the full designation of the work, which appears in R. L. Mitra's Bikaner Catalogue, p. 539, Ms. no. 1148. It is also called simply Bhedaprakāśa, as by the author in the Vādivinoda, p. 44, or as in Hall's Bibliographical Index, p. 85, or simply Bhedaratna as in Jhā's Introduction to the Vādivinoda, p. 4.

Aufrecht (Catalogus Catalogorum, I, p. 416) says that this book (Bhedaprakāśa) was "reproved in Saṅkapa-śārṅga 2. 1" ! Leaving aside the question how a book written in the 15th century could have been noticed in a work decidedly several hundred years earlier, I cannot make out how Dr. Aufrecht discovered the name of a book at all in the *śloka* above referred to. The *śloka* is reproduced below:

“एवं समन्वयनिरूपणयाऽवबोधे
जातोऽप्यखण्डविषयो ननु वाक्यजन्यः ।
मानान्तरेण परिपीडित एव जातो
भेदप्रकाशनकृताक्षनिबन्धनेन” ॥

Probably the phrase here underlined made Dr. Aufrecht suspect it to be the title of a book !! It is strange how Dr. Satis Chandra could have accepted this blunder in his Indian Logic, p. 459 !!

228. p. 85.

229. This Ms. is now deposited in the Raghunath Temple Library of His Highness the Maharāja of Jammu and Kashmir. The date is thus entered: “संवत् १५१९ समये चैत्र शुदि १५ पूर्णिमा मङ्गलदिने. [It is significant that the oldest Mss. of Śaṅkara's works, so far brought to light, were both written at Benares— (a) the Khaṇḍana-ṭīkā in the Government Sanskrit Library, Benares, in 1472 A.D. by one Vāsudeva, a native of Bengal, and, (b) the Bheda-prakāśa in 1462 A.D. by one Kayastha Sūrya Dāsa (see, Stein, Jammu Catalogue, p. 328) ?].

230. Dr. Gaṅgānātha Jhā, in his Preface to the Vādivinoda, pp. 1-2, places Śaṅkara about Śaṅvat 1585. But, in view of the positive evidence adduced above it is no longer possible to accept this date as true.

231. cf. the verse

“शङ्करवाचस्पत्योः समानौ शङ्करवाचस्पती भवतः ।
पक्षधरप्रतिपक्षौ लक्ष्मीभूतौ न च क्वापि” ॥

(Quoted in the Preface to Khaṇḍanoddhāra, p. 3). Most probably the first two names Śaṅkara and Vācaspati are to be understood as directly intended for Śaṅkarācārya and Vācaspati Miśra, the great champions of Vedānta, and, not merely for Śiva and Brhaspati; and, the point of the saying would then consist in the popular estimate that as Śaṅkarācārya and Vācaspati were masters of Vedānta, in the same way Śaṅkara Miśra and Vācaspati II occupied a unique position in Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika.

232. Śaṅkara Miśra and Vācaspati Miśra II (and Gaṇḍaka Miśra) were the *Gurus* of the *smṛta* Vardhamāna, the contemporary of Rājā Bhairavendra: cf. Daṇḍaviveka, Asiatic Society Ms., p. 1, verse 6 :

“ज्यायान् गण्डकमिश्रः शङ्करवाचस्पती च मे गुरवः” ।

233. “शङ्करवाचस्पत्योः सदृशौ शङ्करवाचस्पती ।

पक्षधरप्रतिपक्षः लक्ष्मीभूतौ न च क्वापि” ॥

234. Chakravarti in J. A. S. B., 1915, pp. 270-271, 399-400, 426-430.

235. This Commentary is known as *Dvaitanirṇaya-jīrṇoddhāra*. See Mitra's Notices, no. 1853 (Vol. V., p. 116), where the Colophon is thus given: "इति महामहोपाध्यायश्रीमधुसूदनठक्कुरकृतो द्वैतनिर्णयजीर्णोद्धारः समाप्तः".
236. J. A. S. B., Sept. 1915, p. 271.
237. See Mitra's Notices, No. 1909, Vol. V, p. 225. It may be pointed out here that there exists in the Government Sanskrit Library, Benares, a Ms. of *Kaṇṭakoddhāra*, dated Śaṁvat 1667 (=1610 A. D.) — a date which is practically identical.
238. Tanjore Catalogue, p. 115 b.
239. As in Hall, p. 39.
240. See, India Office Catalogue, p. 629.
241. Chowkhamba Ed., pp. 58, 69.
242. See the Introductory verse 1.
243. "ल सं ४४३ चैत्र वदि एकादश्यां चन्द्रे महामहाठक्कुर श्रीदेवनाथमहाशयानु-शासनाद् राघवेन लिखितम्" ।
244. Notices, Vol. III, p. 74.
245. Thus we read the second introductory verse of the Commentary:

“देवनाथेन गोविन्दचरणाम्बुजसेविना ।
चिन्तामणौ यदालोके परिशिष्टं तदुच्यते” ॥

Who was this Govinda ? Could he have been the well-known author of *Kāvya-pradīpa*, a commentary on the *Kāvya-prakāśa* ?

246. The leaves are of the Government Sanskrit Library, Benares.
247. The *Anumāna* section of this work has been edited by Paṇḍita T. Gaṇapati Śāstrī and published in the Trivandrum Sanskrit Series, no. XXXV, 1914.
248. Catalogus Catalogorum, I, 217.
249. Government Sanskrit Library, Benares, Ms.
250. "सार्वभौम पिता विशारद महेश्वर ।
ताहार जाङ्गले गेल प्रभु विश्वम्भर" ॥ —Caitanya-bhagavata, Madhya-khaṇḍa, 21 Adhyāya, lines 11-12 (Vasumati Ed., 1315 San, p. 235).

251. "श्रीवन्द्यान्वयकैरवामृतरुचो वेदान्तविद्यामयाद्
भट्टाचार्यविशारदान् नरहरेः" ॥—

End of Advaita-makaranda-ṭīkā (Mitra, 2854).

252. Hall (Introduction to Vāsavadattā, p. 54) makes the author Maheśvara identical with Śrīvatsalāñchana. But, Peterson (II, p. 19) denies this identity, saying that Maheśvara was another name of Subuddhi Miśra for whom he refers to Aufrecht (Catalogus Catalogorum, 1716), who speaks of Subuddhi Miśra Maheśvara's Commentary on Vāmana's Alaṅkāra Sūtra, called Sahitya-sarvasva. The whole question is involved in obscurity.

Who was this Subuddhi Miśra ? Could he not be the father of Jayānanda (born 1513), the author of Caitanya-maṅgala and a famous Vaiṣṇava of the Gauḍīya order ?

253. About Maheśvara's migration from Bengal and settlement at Benares, cf. Jayānanda's Caitanya-maṅgala : "विशारद निवास करिला बाराणसी."
254. Aufrecht (Catalogus Catalogorum, II, 134) has fallen into an error making the entry that Vāsudeva Sārvabhauma was the nephew and pupil of his paternal uncle Jayadeva Pakṣadhara, author of a commentary on Cintāmaṇi ! From a glance at Vol. III it will appear that the mistake arose from a confusion between Vāsudeva Sārvabhauma and Vāsudeva Miśra.
255. Government Sanskrit Library, Benares, Ms. No. 184.
256. Vol. III, p. 126 (Fourth Edition).
257. Pratāparudra was the son of Puruṣottama Deva and grandson of Kapileśvara Deva (See, Vidyānātha's Pratāparudrayaśobhūṣaṇa) and belonged to the Solar Dynasty (as stated in the Colophon of Pathyāpathya-viniścaya by Viśvanātha Sen). He was the patron of
- (a) Balabhadra (See, Rāma Kṛṣṇa Bhaṭṭa's Introduction to his Commentary on Śāstradīpikā).
- (b) Viśvanātha Sen (Mitra, 2939).
- (c) Śaṅkṛtāvin (Hultsch, Part I, No. 143, p. 163).

and was himself the author of a series of works such as :

(i) Kautuka-cintāmaṇi (written probably after his conversion into Vaiṣṇavism), a work on various kinds of Tāntric recipes (Mitra. 310).

(ii) Nirṇaya-saṅgraha

(iii) Prauḍha-pratapa-mārtanda. (This is an important *Smṛti* compilation, and, was really by Rāma Kṛṣṇa Bhaṭṭa of Benares. A Ms. of this exists in the Government Sanskrit Library, Benares).

(d) Sarasvatī-vilāsa (Hultzsck, chapter I, No. 425, p. 79).

258. cf. the following statement by Laladāsa in his *Bhaktamāla*, 145 (21st garland) :

“पण्डित गम्भीर सार्वभौम भट्टाचार्य ।
यतेक पुरुषोत्तमे दण्डीर आचार्य ॥
सभासद् प्रधान श्री प्रताप रुद्रे ।
व्यवस्था प्रामाण्य पार स्मृत्यादि शास्त्रे” ॥

(Balai Chand Goswamin's Ed., 1305 San, p. 332).

259. Except Vidyāvācaspati on whom see *passim*.

260. Translation by D. C. Sen in his “Bengali Language and Literature”, p. 476.

261. Mitra, 2854.

262. It is strange that the account of Advaita-makaranda-ṭīkā as given in Mitra 2854 escaped the notice of Aufrecht, who enters the name of this book not under Vāsudeva, the Sarvabhauma, but, under another person of the same name (Catalogus Catalogorum, I, 597).

263. e. g. in Caitanya-caritāmṛta (Madhya Līlā, chapter VI), Caitanya-candrodaya (Bibliotheca Indica, 1854; Act VI), Caitanya-bhāgavata (Antya Khaṇḍa, chapter II-III), Bhaktamāla (145, 21st garland), etc. See also Amiya-Nimai-carita, Vol. III, pp. 125-194.

264. cf. the following verses of Sarvabhauma:

“वैराग्यविद्यः निजभक्तियोगशिक्षार्थमेकः पुरुषः पुराणः ।
श्रीकृष्णचैतन्यशरीरधारां कृपाम्बुधिर्व्यस्तमहं प्रपद्ये ॥ १ ॥
कालान्नष्टं भक्तियोगं निजं यः प्रादुर्कृतुं कृष्णचैतन्यनामा ।
आविर्भूतस्तस्य पादारविन्दे गाढं गाढं लीयतां चित्तभृङ्गः” ॥ २ ॥

(Caitanya-candrodaya by Kṛṣṇapāra, Act VI, Bibliotheca Indica, pp. 156-157).

265. Caitanya-caritāmṛta, p. 126, Vasumati Ed.

266. Śāstrī, Vol. I, No. 103, p. 96. Perhaps it is to this work that Vṛndāvana Dāsa refers in his Caitanya-bhāgavata thus:

“एह मत सार्वभौम शतश्लोक करि ।
काकु करे चैतन्येर पादपद्म धरि” ॥
(Vasumati Ed., p. 307).

267. Nadiyā Kahinī, p. 211.

268. Catalogus Catalogorum, I, p. 10 b.

269. See, Sāhitya Pariṣat Patrikā, Vol. IV, pp. 201-202.

270. Ms. No. 372.

271. “योऽम्बूद् गौडक्षितिपतिशिखारत्नघुष्टाङ्घ्रिरेणु-
विद्यावाचस्पतिरिति जगद्गीतकीर्तिप्रपञ्चः” ।

272. As in Caitanya-bhāgavata (Antya Khaṇḍa, chapter 3):

“सार्वभौमभ्राता विद्यावाचस्पति नाम ।
शान्त दान्त धर्मशील महाभाग्यवान्” ॥
(Vasumati Ed., p. 312).

273. From the words “श्री कालभैरवाय नमः” at the close it appears that the transcription was made at Benares.

274. This is on the analogy of the other works of the Sarvabhauma family noticed above which I take to be contemporaneous with the authors and belonging to Viśārada's private Library at Benares. However, I must not insist on this point.

275. Vide, fol. 52 a: “इति महामहोपाध्यायमहाचार्यश्रीमद्वाहिनीपतिमहापात्र-
विरचितः शब्दालोकोद्घोतः परिपूर्णः”, etc.

276. But see Navadvīpa-mahimā, p. 61.
277. p. i.
278. Śāstri's "Report, 1895-1900", p. 15; Peterson, VI, No. 218, p. 16.
279. Mitra's Notices, Nos. 2850-2852. The three Mss. dealing with the three sections of the work, viz. *Pratyakṣa*, *Anumāna* and *Śabda* were copied by one Kandarpa Rāya on the bank of the Ganges (सुरधुनीसविधे) in Śaka 1523 (त्रिपुरमविश्वक्षणदाधिनाथे), 1522 and 1521 respectively.
280. p. 23.
281. p. 217.
282. p. 223.
283. p. 285.
284. Nyāya-siddhānta-mañjarī, pp. 18, 185.
285. p. 185.
286. There are two old Mss. of Raghunātha's Commentary on Ātma-tattva-viveka in the Government Sanskrit Library Benares—one (called erroneously in the Colophon Bhava-prakāśa) dated Śaka 1538 and Saṃvat 1672 (= 1616 A. D.) and the other dated Śaka 1516 (= 1594 A. D.).
287. End of Anumāna-didhiti.
288. cf.
- “श्रीगोविन्दपदद्वन्द्वं प्रणम्य परमादरात् ।
हृदि कृत्वा च निखिलं सार्वभौमस्य सद्बचः ॥
आत्मतत्त्वविवेकस्य व्याख्यां दीधितिःकृतकृताम् ।
प्रकाशयति यत्नेन श्रीरामः सुधियां मुदे” ॥
- (Benedictory verses of Śrī Rāma's Commentary Ātma-tattvaviveka-didhiti).
289. Evidently the verse is *śliṣṭa* here and has to be interpreted in a double sense, being at once applicable to the great Rāma Candra and Śrī Rāma, Mathurānātha's father. As explained in reference to the second interpretation, the word *nyāyāmbudhi* ought to mean a book prepared by Śrī Rāma, *akhilasampatti* some jagir secured and *tribhuvana* the

names of three contemporary scholars named 'Bhuvana' vanquished in debate, by whom his glories were sung. I do not know whether all this is not to be rejected as mere conjecture. (End of Mathurānātha's Commentary on Tattvacintamani).

290. Oppert (2025, 5278; II, 9408) mentions a treatise of this kind by one Vajraṭaṅka Śāstrin. But, it is a comparatively recent production. Vajraṭaṅka seems to have written also a commentary on Bhavanandī, called Bhavanandī-prakāśikā (vide Hultzs, No. 1462, II, pp. 137-138).

291. cf. Mahādeva's pungent remarks towards the beginning of his Commentary on Bhavanandī (Anumāna) :

“अनालोच्य सिद्धान्तवागीशवाण्यां वृथा सूपितः (?) पण्डितैर्गौडजातैः ।
यदुद्भावितं दूषणाभासवृन्दं तदुद्धारणार्थं ममोद्योग एवः” ॥

292. Rāghavendra was much loved by his tutor. So says Cirañjīva in the Vidvanmodatarāṅgiṇī :

“अधीयानमुद्दिश्य चाध्यापकोऽयं भवानन्दसिद्धान्तवागीश चे ।
अयं कोऽपि देवोऽनवद्या त्विद्याचमत्कारधारामपारां विभर्ति” ॥

—Chapter 1, verse 17.

293. This is a commentary on the whole of Kusumañjali, and, not on the metrical portion of it only, as noted by Mr. Chakravarti (J. A. S. B, 1915, p. 279).

294. Not 1622 A. D. as stated by Dr. Vidyābhūṣaṇa in his Indian Logic, p. 468.

295. 1608-1688 A D.

296. Aufrecht (Catalogus Catalogorum, Vol. I, pp. 528-529) has erroneously placed the works of the two Rudras under the single name of Rudra Nyāyavācaspati and made him the grandson of Bhavānanda. In Vol. III, p. 112, however, the name of Rudra Nyāyavācaspati's grandfather appears correctly as Vidyāvācaspati.

297. India Office Catalogue, p. 674.

298. cf. Jagadīśa in Śabda 'akti-prakāśikā : “इति पुनर्न्यायरहस्येऽस्मद्-गुरुचरणाः”.

299. Mr. Chakravarti (J. A. S. B., 1915, p. 281) and Dr. Vidyābhāṣaṇa (Indian Logic, p. 468) wrongly make Rāmabhadra the son of Bhavanātha and Bhavānī. The error is apparently due to an original confusion on the part of Aufrecht (Catalogus Catalogorum, I, p. 517) and Stein (p. 148).
300. It may be observed that Rāmabhadra was not the author of the entire commentary which in Bengal passes under his name. The earlier part of the work, where the author names his parents as Bhavanātha and Bhavānī and where he remarks that in interpreting the text he has closely followed the instructions received from his father ('ततोऽपि कां पितुर्व्याख्या-साख्यानुमयमुच्यते'), is strongly reminiscent of Śaṅkara Miśra and must have proceeded from his pen. And as a matter of fact, for this very reason, the whole commentary is ascribed to Śaṅkara Miśra in Mithilā. To me, however, it seems that the commentary known as Āmoda in Mithilā (noticed by Aufrecht in Oxf. Cat., p. 243 and by Dr. Jhā in his Preface to Vādivinoda) and as Rāmabhadri in Bengal (notified in Mitra, No. 525), was not the work of a single author, but, the joint production of Śaṅkara and Rāmabhadra : it had been commenced by Śaṅkara Miśra, but, for some reason or other left incomplete by him, and, was subsequently completed by Rāmabhadra Sarvabhauma. This will explain the origin of the erroneous statement in regard to the parentage of Rāmabhadra. That this is not a mere supposition will be clear from an actual entry in the following extract from the commentary : "इत्यन्तं शङ्कर-मिश्रकृतं ततः सावंभौमीयम्" (fol. 6a²⁻⁵ of a very old Ms., in possession of Paṇḍita Harihara Śāstrī of Benares). But, the full text of Śaṅkara Miśra's 'Āmoda' is also available, a copy of which exists in the Government Sanskrit Library Benares. See ante (p. 56, fn. 222). The late Mm. Maheśa Candra Nyāyaratna (in his 'Brief Notes on the Modern Nyaya System of Philosophy and its Technical Terms', p. 5) ascribed this commentary on the Kusumāñjali-kārikās to one Rāmabhadra Siddhāntavāgīśa, whose name is associated by popular tradition with the establishment of the image of

Polā-mā at Nadiā and whom he takes to be the earliest exponent of Nyāya in Bengal (earlier than Vāsudeva Sārvaabhauma). But, this is evidently without any foundation in fact.

301. p. 112.
302. p. 117.
303. Reprint from The Pandit, p. 96.
304. Burnell, p. 121 a.
305. Hultzsck, No. 1404, II, p 133.
306. A Ms. of Jagad Śa's Kāvya-prakāśa-rahasya was copied by one of his pupils in Śaka 1599 (= 1677 A. D.).
307. "सामुद्रिकेशोऽथ समुद्रकल्पः सामुद्रिकाचार्य इति प्रसिद्धिम् ।
लेभे नृणामाकृतिदर्शनेन फलं वदन् भूतभविष्यदादि" ॥
308. Mitra, No. 3367 or Subodhini.
309. This Commentary is wrongly ascribed to Rāmabhadra Sārvaabhauma in the Preface, p. 2, to Padārtha-tattva-nirūpaṇa (V. P. Dube's Edition).
310. Sanskrit College Catalogue, p. 265, No 460.
311. See, for instance, the following extract from the Bhāvartha-dīpikā where the definition of Kūṛaṇa by Balabhadra and Govardhana has been attacked by Gaurkīnta: "यत्तु अनुभवत्वव्याप्यजात्यवच्छिन्नकार्यतानिरूपितकारणाश्रयत्वे सति व्यापारवत्त्वे सति प्रमाकरणत्वमिति गोवर्द्धनेनोक्तम्, यच्च यथार्थज्ञानकारणत्वे सति व्यापारवत्त्वे सति अनुभवत्वव्याप्यजात्यवच्छिन्नकार्यताप्रतियोगिकारणताश्रयत्वं प्रमाणत्वमिति तदेव लक्षणं परिवर्त्य बलभद्रेणोक्तं तद्द्वयमप्यशुद्धम्" ।
312. Government Sanskrit Library, Benares, Ms. 156, fol. 3b.
313. Ibid, fol. 9 b.
314. Ibid, fol. 22 b.
315. Government Sanskrit Library, Benares, Ms. 163, fol. 138 b.
316. Government Sanskrit Library, Benares, Ms. 156.
317. Also surnamed Tarkīlaṅkāra.
318. Hall, p. 55.
319. Weber, I, p. 204 (Ms. 685, Dravya-sāra-saṅgraha of Raghu-deva) : Peterson, VI, pp. 15-16.

320. 'मूढन्यायाय च रामभद्रचरणद्वन्द्वारविन्दद्वयम्' —line 3.
321. In the 'Decision' of Benares Pandits dated Samvat 1714 the name of Pt. Jayarāma Nyāyapañcānana occurs in the list of the signatories. This 'Decision' has been published by R. S. Pimputkar in his 'Citalebhaṭṭa-prakaraṇa', 1926, pp. 78-81.
322. Vidyābhūṣaṇa, Indian Logic, p. 478.
323. "अधिकं कारिकाव्याख्यायामनुसन्धेयम्" (fol. 74 b⁴ of Ms. 168 belonging to Government Sanskrit Library, Benares). Three Mss. of this work exist there.
324. Śabdārthamālā is not a distinct work, as Mr. Chakravarti (J. A. S. B., 1915, p. 483) and Dr. Vidyābhūṣaṇa (Indian Logic, p. 478) hold, but, only another name of the Padārthamālā. The author himself employs the two names indifferently for this work. Thus in the second benedictory verse at the beginning (पदार्थमाला बालानां etc.) and in the second verse at the end of the *Dravya* section (पदार्थमाला यदि नाम बाला etc.) the name Padārthamālā is used; but, in verse 1 at the end of the *Dravya* section the work is referred to under the name of Śabdārthamālā (वितनोति शब्दार्थमालामिमाम्).
325. Navadvīpa-mahimā, p. 82. In the copy of the India Office Ms. of Gadādhara's Anumāna-dīdhiṭi-ṭippaṇī, he is called 'महामहोपाध्याय गौडदेशीयः गदाधर चक्रवर्ती' (India Office Catalogue, p. 607).
326. Navadvīpa-mahimā, pp. 82-84; Śāstrī, Notices II.
327. cf. his benediction in the Cintāmaṇi-dīdhiṭi (*Anumāna*) where he invokes the blessings of Durgā (*Girīndra-duhitā*).
328. S. V.
329. Weber, I, p. 204.

In Nañvāda (Oxford, p. 245, Ms. 617) he names his *Guru* Tarkavāgīśvara, which must be understood, in conjunction with the above statement, as applying definitely to Harirāma.

Bodas in his Introduction to Tarkasaṅgraha, p. 45 and Pt. V. P. Dube in the Preface of his edition of Padārthattattva-nirūpaṇa, p. 2, wrongly makes Raghudeva Mathurānātha's disciple. This mistake was evidently occasioned by the fact of both Mathurānātha and Harirāma bearing a common title (viz., Tarkavāgīśa). But away from the above extract which throws light on the whole question, the mistake will also be apparent when it is known that Raghudeva was Bhavinanda's descendant in the 3rd or 4th remove (Navadvīpa-mahimā, p. 80) and that the latter was Mathurānātha's direct pupil. But the verses at the end of the Nañvāda

“अत्र सूक्तं दुष्कृतं वा यत् किञ्चिज्जल्पितं मया ।
तत् सर्वं जगदीशस्य प्रीत्यर्थमित्यनिन्दितम्” ॥

seem to show that he read also with Jagadīśa. Or perhaps the word Jagadīśa means God and nothing more.

330. There is a Ms. of this work, dated Samvat 1739 (=1682 A. D.) in the Government Sanskrit Library, Benares. It was transcribed by the great Naiyāyika Mahādeva Puntāmkar.
331. The Pandit Ed., p. 78.
332. S. V. Kaṇāda.
333. 1906-7—1910-11, p. 6.
334. Hall, however, assigns it to a pupil of Jayarāma, p. 56.
335. The line of Vi'vanātha's teachers is given thus in the popular saying :
- हरेर गदा, गदार जय । जयेर विशु लोके कय ॥
- which gives us the order—Harirāma Tarkavāgīśa—Gadādhara Bhaṭṭācārya—Jayarāma Tarkalaṅkāra—Vi'vanātha Pañcānana.
336. His younger brothers were Nārayaṇa and his father was the son of the younger brother of the great Vāsudeva Śārva-bhauma and he is said to have been highly honoured by Rājā Mansingh of Amber and defeated in a public assembly at the Court of Todarmall the great scholar Nārayaṇa Bhaṭṭa of Benares.

337. This work reminds one of a less known but similarly named treatise on Vedānta, viz., Vedānta-siddhānta-muktāvalī by Prakāśānanda Svāmī. Prakāśānanda was undoubtedly an earlier author and it was his work which appears to have inspired the title of Viśvanātha's gloss on his own Kārikās.

338. See Hall, p.84.

339. Hultzsck, II, p. 132, No. 1397. Aufrecht notes that this work is based on an earlier commentary on the Muktāvalī by Madhusūdana, named Mahāprabha (Catalogus Catalogorum, III, p. 89).

340. Kṛṣṇakānta quotes the old popular saying which speaks of 6 (or 7) great contemporary scholars, viz., Jayadeva and Rudranātha at Nadiā, Rāmānātha at Pūrvasthali, three Bhūṣaṇas at Pāṭali and Rāmarāma at Taḍiṭa.

341. "इति भट्टाचार्यश्रीमहादेवकृतौ मितभाषिण्यां न्यायवृत्तौ द्वितीयमाह्निकम्"
—fol. 36b.

This clear statement of authorship should at once dispel the error of Aufrecht (Catalogus Catalogorum, I, 437¹) who ascribes the work, apparently on the similarity of names, to Mahādeva Puntāmkar. The title Bhāṭṭācārya is a certain indication of the author's Bengali descent. The Nyāya-sūtra-vṛtti is said to have been undertaken at the request of one Someśvara Bhāṭṭa.

342. See

(i) the Colophon at the end of Berlin Ms. (636) of his Sāṅkhya-vṛttisāra, chap. I :

"इति स्वयंप्रकाशतीर्थाङ्घ्रिलब्धवेदान्तिसत्पदेन महादेवेनोन्नीते सांख्यवृत्तिसारे प्र० अध्यायः"—Weber, p. 185.

and (ii) the beginning of Berlin Ms. (1524) of his Commentary on Viṣṇu-sahasranāma—

"स्वयंप्रकाशतीर्थाङ्घ्रिलब्धवेदान्तिसत्पदः ।

महादेवोऽर्थमाचष्टे विष्णुनामसहस्रगम्" ॥—Weber, Vol. II, p. 113.

343. Weber, Vol. II, p. 113; cf. Garbe's Sāṅkhya Philosophie, p. 78 and Sāṅkhya und Yoga (Grundriss Series), p. 9.

344. I inspected a complete, and apparently very old, Ms. of this work in the family collection of Babu Dikṣita Jade of Benares, where on fol. 139 the following Colophon was found :

“इति श्रीगोविन्दन्यायालंकारभट्टाचार्यात्मजश्रीकृष्णन्यायवागीशभट्टाचार्य-
विरचितायां न्यायसिद्धान्तमञ्जरीटीकायां शब्दखण्डः समाप्तः ।

शत्रुशल्यतनूजस्य भावसिंहमहीपतेः ।

आज्ञया रचितो ग्रन्थो भावसिंहनिरीक्षणः” ॥

345. May this Śātru'alya be identical with the hero of the poem, Śātru'alya Carita, by one Viśvanātha, son of Nārāyaṇa, which Peterson notices (3.342) ?

346. p 88.

347. Rāmanārāyaṇa was the acknowledged head of the Pandit Community of Nadiā towards the end of the 18th century. Among his other pupils was the famous Vuno Rāmanātha or Rāmanātha ‘the wild’—a nick name won for his dwelling on the outskirts of the village— whose name has become a familiar expression for plain living and high thinking.

348. cf. Vidyābhūṣaṇa, Indian Logic, p. 485.

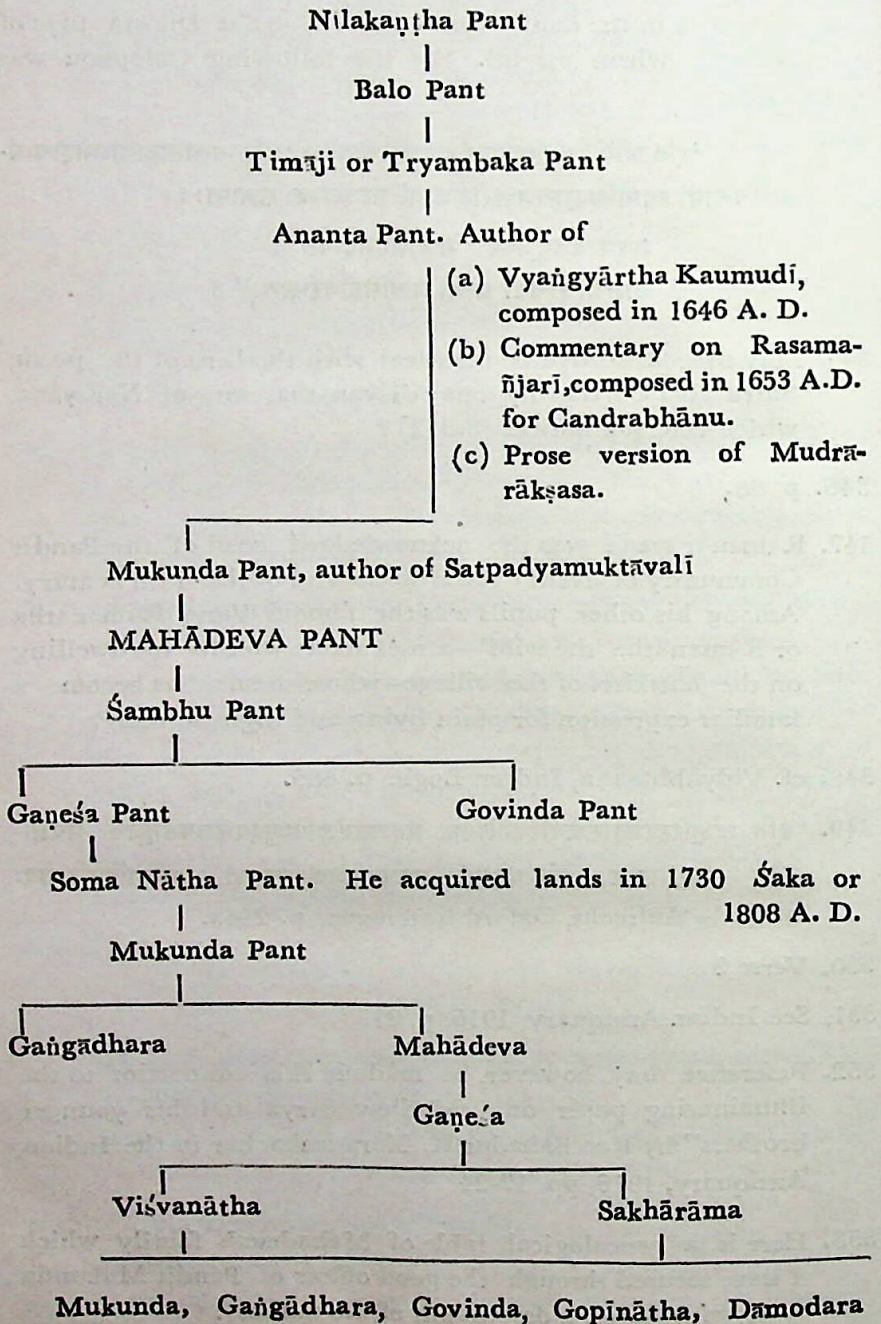
349. “इति श्रीहरिहरमहाराजपरिपालितेन सहजसर्वज्ञविष्णुदेवाराध्यतनूजेन सर्वज्ञा-
नुजेन चिन्मन्त्रेण विरचितायां तर्कभाषाप्रकाशिकायां प्रमेयादिपरिच्छेदः
समाप्तः”—Aufrecht, Oxford Catalogue, p. 244a.

350. Verse 2.

351. See Indian Antiquary, 1916, p. 21.

352. Reference may, however, be made in this connection to the illuminating paper on “Mīdhavācārya and his younger brothers” by Rao Bahadur R. Narasimhachar in the Indian Antiquary, 1916, pp. 17-24.

353. Here is a genealogical table of Mahādeva's family which I have secured through the good offices of Pandit Mukunda Śāstrī of Benares, a descendant of the author :



354. The goddess Siddheśvari whose temple is in the city in the quarter known after her name is an old deity of Benares, of whom mention is found in the *Kāśī Khaṇḍa*. It has been regularly worshipped by the family of the Maunins for the last 7 or 8 generations. The image is now mutilated. Long ago it was proposed to replace it by a new image and so an image was made and arrangements were made to set it up with due ceremony for worship. But it is said that the goddess appeared in a vision and forbade such a procedure. The old image continued to be worshipped as usual. The new one is now to be found outside in a corner on the verandah. The following *dhyāna* will serve as a good description of the goddess :

“लालयन्तीं महासिंहं ताडयन्तीं च माहिषम् ।
पद्मं खड्गं धारयन्तीं पालयन्तीं जगत्त्रयम्” ॥

355. “अनालोच्य सिद्धान्तवागीशवाण्यां
वृथा सूपितः (?) पण्डितैर्गौडजातैः ।

यदुद्भावितं दूषणाभासवृद्धं
तदुद्धारणार्थं ममोद्योग एषः” ॥

(Beginning of Bhavanandi-prakāśa).

356. Towards the close of the Sarvopakāriṇi Mahādeva calls the Prakāśa and the Kaustubha his two sons, and the Sarvopakāriṇi his daughter, begotten by his spiritual wife *Buddhi* :

“प्रकाशकौस्तुभौ पुत्रावात्मजामुपकारिणीम् ।
बुद्धिपत्न्यामलौकिक्यां महादेवो ह्यभावयत्” ॥

357. “भवानन्दोप्रकाशस्तु विस्तृतो रचितो मया ।
अतः संक्षेपतः कुर्वे व्याख्यां सर्वोपकारिणीम्” ॥

358. fol. 186.

359. See verse 1 at the beginning :

“श्रीरामगोविन्दसुतीर्थपादकृपाविशेषादुपजातबोधम् ।
श्रीवासुदेवादधिगत्य सर्वशास्त्राणि वक्तुं किमपि स्पृहा नः” ॥

cf. also his *Vedānta-vibhāvanī* with (*Sūkhya-candrikā*, Benares Sanskrit Series, No. 9, p. 1) commentary and *Bhakti-candrikā* (Mss. belonging to Government Sanskrit Library, Benares).

360. Thus in his

(a) *Laghu-candrikā*, commentary on *Advaita-siddhi* :

i. “श्रीनारायणतीर्थानां गुरुणां चरणस्मृतिः ।

भूयान् मे साधिकेष्टानामनिष्टानाञ्च बाधिका” ॥—

Introductory verse 2, *Advaita Mañjarī* Ed., p. 1.

ii. “श्रीनारायणतीर्थानां षट्शस्त्रीपारमीयुषाम् ।

चरणौ शरणीकृत्य तीर्थः सारस्वतार्णवः” ॥

Concluding verse 2, *Advaita Mañjarī* Ed., p. 643.

(b) *Nyāyaratnāvalī*:—Commentary on the *Siddhānta-hindu* :

“श्रीनारायणतीर्थानां गुरुणां चरणाम्बुजम् ।

नमामि बाङ्मनःकायैरनन्यशरणैः सदा” ॥—

Concluding verse 1, *Advaita Mañjarī* Ed., p. 212.

361. It is said in extenuation of the many defects of this work that it was composed by the author at the early age of 22 and was not subsequently revised.

362. It appears that Bhaṭṭoji became a *dīkṣita*, probably the first *dīkṣita* in the family, by initiating himself into the mysteries of the *Agnihotra* ceremony and that his descendants (e.g. his son, Bhaṇu Dīkṣita and grandson Hari Dīkṣita) inherited the title as a matter of pure legacy. His brother Raṅgoji or his nephew Koṇḍa are not known by that title. The name Raṅgoji Dīkṣita, as used in Dr. Belvalkar's “Systems of Sanskrit Grammar” seems, therefore, to be a slip.

363. cf. Aufrecht, *Catalogus Catalogorum*, I, p. 489. Both these works exist in the Library of Pandit Mukunda Śāstri. The former has been published in *The Princess of Wales*

Sarasvati Bhanana Texts Series, Benares. The second work is incomplete, being confined to one chapter only.

364. cf. Hall, p. 79.

365. cf. Ibid, p. 78.

366. I examined a Ms. of Kṛṣṇa Bhaṭṭa's Citraganḍadhara (fols. 26; unknown to Aufrecht) in Gopāladāsa's private collection. In the 3rd introductory verse of this work the author speaks of his parents, whom he names Raṅganātha (not Raghunātha as in Aufrecht, Catalogus Catalogorum, I, p. 118) and Kamalā, as already dead :

“वैकुण्ठमध्यावसतोः कभलारङ्गनाथयोः ।

तनूजेन कवित्वानां माला भीला वितन्यते” ॥—

(fol. 16). cf. also India Office Catalogue, p. 618.

367. Not Dhārā, or modern Dhar, as supposed by Mr. A.V. Kathavate in his Report (1891-95), p. 15. Dhārā is a town in Central India, whereas Dhārā-srapura is farther South, in the Deccan, on the bank of the Godāvari.

368. The folios refer to the Ms., not yet numbered, which has just been acquired for the Government Sanskrit Library, Benares.

369. No. 1418, II, p. 133.

370. p. 67.

371. No. 1453.

372. Burnell, Tanjore Catalogue, p. 115 b.

373. Ibid, p. 90a. But Mahāmahopādhyāya Kṛṣṇanātha Nyāya-pañcānana in his Commentary on the Vedānta-paribhāṣā (pp.3-4) speaks of Velaṅgudi to be a village on the bank of the Narmadā. I leave the point open for discussion by men more competent to deal with questions of South Indian biography.

374. “टीका शशधरस्यापि बालव्युत्पत्तिदायिनी”—this along with the line following “पदयोजनया पञ्चपादिका व्याकृता मया”, does not occur

in the current texts. The latter commentary is called Padad pikā (See Hultzsck, No. 1152).

375. Vide Burnell, p. 119 b.

376. There is a commentary of this name on the Tattvacināmaṇi-prakāśa. cf. "A Triennial Catalogue of Mss." by Ranga-charya, Kuppu Svāmī Śāstri, Vol. I, p. 795 (R. No. 578).

377. Burnell, p. 115 b.

378. He also wrote a commentary on Sadānanda's Vedāntasāra.

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For the first part of the paper, the notation is as follows:



